DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 317 637 UD 027 337

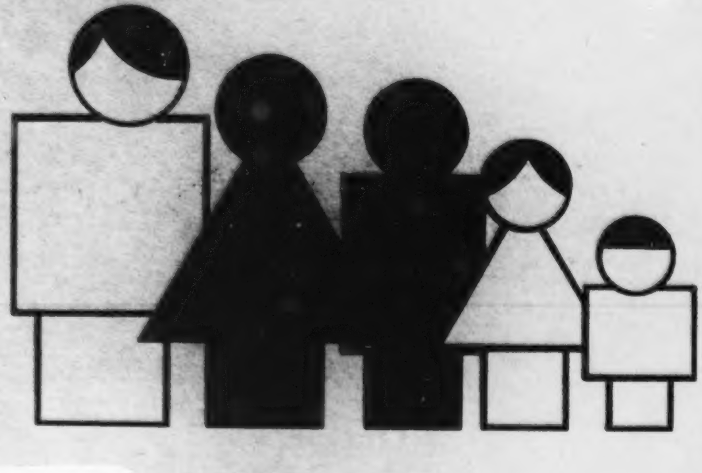
TITLE	National Conference on Latino Children in Poverty. Proceedings (1st, Washington, D.C., June 12, 1987).
INSTITUTION	National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Education Fund, Washington, DC.
SPONS AGENCY	Carnegie Corp. of New York, N.Y.; Gannett Foundation, Rochester, NY.
PUB DATE	12 Jun 87
NOTE	120p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - General (140)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; At Risk Persons; *Disadvantaged Youth; *Family Characteristics; Family Size; *Hispanic Americans; Low Income Groups; *Minority Group Children; Nuclear Family; Parent Background; *Poverty; *Research Needs; Social Services

ABSTRACT

This conference assessed the conditions confronting the Hispanic community's children at risk. Among those addressing the salient issues of Hispanic child poverty were social scientists, policymakers, academics, and social service administrators. The conference agenda, seeking to outline the scope of Latino child poverty, highlights the following issues: (1) family type; (2) family size; and (3) parents' education. The following statistical findings are discussed: (1) the poverty rate for Latino children in two-parent families (27.4 percent) is higher than the poverty rates for Black (18.7 percent) and non-Hispanic White children (8.4 percent); (2) of Latino children who live in poverty 42 percent are in large families with four or more siblings, compared to 35 percent for non-Hispanic White children and 23 percent for Black children; (3) the dropout rate for Hispanics is as much as three times higher than the rates for non-Hispanic Whites and 1.5 times higher than the rate for Blacks; and (4) approximately 98 percent of Latino children of unwed mothers without a high school education are born into poverty. The need for society to take notice of the unique needs of Hispanic children in poverty is considered, and research needs are discussed. The full conference proceedings are provided, including questions and comments from the floor. Nine charts, one table, and a list of conference participants are included. References accompany transcripts of some of the panels. (JS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED317637



FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LATINO CHILDREN IN POVERTY

PROCEEDINGS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Robert M. Paral
NALEO
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UD 027 357

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The NALEO Education Fund

The NALEO Education Fund wishes to express its appreciation
to the following foundations whose generous support
made this conference and publication possible

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

GANNETT FOUNDATION

For further information contact:

NALEO Education Fund
708 G Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
202-546-2536

NALEO Education Fund
1114 S. Lorena
Los Angeles, CA 90023
213-262-8503

(c) By the NALEO Education Fund, Inc. All rights reserved.

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LATINO CHILDREN IN POVERTY

Proceedings
June 12, 1987
Washington, D.C.

Sponsored by
The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials
(NALEO) Education Fund

FORWARD

The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Education Fund is a national, non-partisan, 501(c)3 organization, conducting civic affairs and research projects on behalf of the Hispanic community.

This publication of the First National Conference on Latino Children in Poverty is one of a series of activities fulfilling the NALEO Education Fund's goal of information dissemination that increases our society's knowledge of social, economic and political conditions present in the Hispanic community.

Edward R. Roybal, M.C.
President
NALEO Education Fund

Conference Participants

Gina Adams
Policy Analyst
Congressional Budget Office
House Annex II - 416 A
U.S. Congress
Washington, DC 20515

Alfonso Aguilar
El Pregonero
1334 Q St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Hank Aguirre
Director, Special Services
Head Start
P.O. Box 1182
Washington, DC 20013

Tensia Alvirez
President, ABL Associates, Inc.
2254 Hall Place, N.W.
Washington, DC 20007

Rosita Apodaca
Dallas Independent School district
3700 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75204

Linda Anguiano
President, Mexican American Women's
National Association, DC Chapter
501 Slatters Lane
Alexandria, VA 22314

Diane August
Program Officer
The Carnegie Corporation of New York
437 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Luis Carlos Ayala
Employment & Training Intern
NCLR
20 F St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

M. Lynn Bachner
Program Officer
William Penn Officer
1630 Locust Street
Philadelphia, PA 19128

Laura Baker
Intergovernmental Relations Officer
Puerto Rico Federal Affairs
Administration
1100 17th St., N.W., Suite 800
Washington, DC 20001

Rita Barreras
Income Support Division
State Social Services Department
Denver, CO 80203

Julio Barreto, Jr.
Center Director
National Puerto Rican Forum, Inc.
1511 K Street, N.W., Suite 537
Washington, DC 20005

Ray Bonilla
Office of Senator Bentsen
703 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Joyce E. Brooks
Public Health Analyst
DC Department Human Services,
Commission of Public Health,
Office of Maternal and Child
Health
1875 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Rm 804
Washington, DC 20019

Christina Caballero
MANA National Treasurer
1201 16th Street, N.W., Suite 303
Washington, DC 20036

Jan Calderon
Executive Director-Rosemont
El Centro Rosemont
2000 Rosemont Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20010

Romana Campos
Public Health Specialist
Mayor's Office on Latino Affairs
2000 14th Street, N.W., 2nd Floor
Reeves Municipal Building
Washington, DC 20009

Marian Carrasco
Staff Member
Congressional Hispanic Caucus
Annex H-2, Room 557
Washington, DC 20515

Dr. Carmen Carrillo
Cossmito
1765 Manor Crest
Oakland, CA 94618

Carmen Cartagena
St. Christophers Hospital
5th and LeeHigh Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19133

Rene Castilla
School Board Member
Dallas Independent School District
3700 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75204

Christine Castillo
1411 Montague Street
Norfolk, VA 23518

Colleen Caulfield
Office of Senator Pell
Labor and Human Resources Committee
335 Russell Senate Building
Washington, DC 20510

Gil Chavez
U.S. Department of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, DC 20202

Linda Chavez
Political Commentator
Republic Hispanic
3 Bethesda Metro Center
Suite 700
Bethesda, MD 20815

Mary Jarman
Executive Director
Healthy Mother, Healthy Babies

Celia Coronado
St. Charles Catholic Housing Office
3304 North Ash Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22201

Alfredo Corchado
Wall Street Journal
121 S. Broad Street
Suite 900
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Hilda Crespo
ASPIRA
1112 16th St., N.W., Suite 340
Washington, DC 20036

Cabell Cropper
Management Specialist
National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse
1033 N. Fairfax St., Suite 200
Alexandria, VA 22314

Mr. Ron Cruz
Campaign for Human Development
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

Sharon Daly
Staff Specialist
U.S. Catholic Conference
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W
Washington, DC 20005

Walter J. Davila, President
The Washington Group, Ltd
2828 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Suite 410
Washington, DC 20007

Dr. Romanita A. De Santiago
ESL Teacher
Arlington Public Schools
6020 Donwiddle Street
Springfield, VA 22150

Dr. Bill Diaz
Program Officer
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Bill DiPietro
George Mason University
4706 Southland Avenue
Alexandria, VA 22152

Valerie Drake
Independent Consultant
1905 6th St., N.W., Suite 407
Washington, DC 20024

Kanu Dunn
Bridges in Health Care
1631 1/2 19th Street, N.W.
Suite A
Washington, DC 20009

Angelo Falcon, President
Institute for Puerto Rican Policy
286 5th Avenue, #805
New York, New York 10001-4512

W. Christopher Farrell
Information Manager
Representative Tommy Robinson
1541 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Lynne Fender, Director
Income Maintenance/Social Service
Programs
National Governor's Association
444 N. Capitol St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

Irmina Fernandez
Employment Specialist
Fairfax County
7686 Richmond Highway, Suite 100
Alexandria, VA 22306

Jose Figeroa
Labor Analyst
National Governor's Association
444 N. Capitol St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20515

Kim Flores
Office of Congressman Don Edwards
2307 Rayburn HOB
Washington, DC 20515

Robert Foster, Director
Program Operations Division
(Migrant Programs Branch)
Head Start Bureau, ACYF, DHHS
5754B Donohoe Building
400 Sixth Street, S.W.
Washington, DC 20201

Dr. Cecilia France
Deputy Asst. Secretary for
Elementary & Secondary Education
400 Maryland Avenue, SW
Room 2181
Washington, DC 20202

David Franklin
President, Sigma One Corporation
3300 Drake Circle
Raleigh, NC 27607

Ramon Garcia
Office of Human Development/HHS
Room 721 B, HHH Building
200 Independence Avenue, SW
Washington, DC 20201

Rudy Garcia
Political Editor
Noticias del Mundo
401 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Anita Gonsalez
Office of Congressman Buechner
502 Cannon HOB
Washington, DC 20201

Larry Guerrero
Program Analysis & Evaluation
Division
U.S. Dept. of Health and Human
Services
200 Independence Avenue, SW
Room 722E
Washington, DC 20201

Carlos Guevara
Legislative Assistant
Congressman Bustamante
1116 Longworth HOB
Washington, DC 20215

David Hackett
Youth Policy Institute
Cardinal Station Box 136
Washington, DC 20064

Doralee Halperin
Office of Congressman Bill Green
1110 Longworth HOB
Washington, DC 20515

Marielouise Harrell
V.P. Sigma One Corporation
2300 Drake Circle
Raleigh, NC 27607

Mary B. Hinrichs
Summer Intern
Children's Bureau-HHS
P.O. Box 1182
Washington, DC 20013

Leah Holmes
Mayor's Office on Latino Affairs
2000 14th St., NW, 2nd Floor
Washington, DC 20009

Sherille Ismail
Joint Center for Political Studies
Editor, Focus
Joint Center for Political Studies
1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20004

Rita Jaramillo
MANA National President
1201 16th Street, NW, Suite 303
Washington, DC 20036

Elizabeth Johnston
Summer Intern
NCCAN in HHS
400 6th St., SW, Room 3763
Washington, DC 20202

Diane Kuntz, M.P.H.
Nutritionist
Children's Hospital National Medical Center
2220 11th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009

Trey La Mair
Office of Congressman
1039 Lon HOB
Washington, DC 20515

Matt Lapointe
Office of Senator Pell
Labor and Human Resources Committee
335 Russell Senate Building
Washington, DC 20510

Rev. Alfred LoPinto
Campaign for Human Development
1312 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20005

Ricardo Martinez
Legislative Analyst
Education and Labor Committee
U.S. House of Representatives
2181 Rayburn
Washington, DC 20515

Alma Mass
Employment Specialist
National Puerto Rican Forum
1511 K Street, NW, Suite 537
Washington, DC 20005

Wendy Melillo
The Washington Post
Health Section
1150 15th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20071

Mary Sue Metrey
Project Director: Un Buen Comienzo
El Centro Rosemont
2000 Rosemont Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20010

J. Henry Montes
Associate Director, External Programs
Office of Minority Health, U.S. PHS
3115 Cranleigh Court
Fairfax, VA 22031

Beatrice Moore
Director, Program Support Division
Children's Bureau
Administration for Children, Youth and Families, DHHS
400 6th St., SW
Washington, DC 20013

Dr. Joan Moore
Professor
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, WI 53201
Mauro Morales
Office of Congressman Torres
1740 Longworth HOB
Washington, DC 20515

Mario Moreno
Associate Counsel, MALDEF
1430 K Street, NW, #700
Washington, DC 20005

Dr. Milton D. Morris
Director of Research
Joint Center for Political Studies
1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW,
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20004

Carmen R. Nazario
Membership and Conference Manager
American Public Welfare Association
1125 Fifteenth St., NW, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20005

Margaret Nieto
Communications Manager
Cities in Schools
1023 15th St., NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20005

Maria Elena Orrego
Program Director
The Family Place
3309 16th St., NW
Washington, DC 20010

Cecilia A. Ottinger
Education - Program Associate
Children's Defense Fund
122 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Marie Paris
Associate Director
California Democratic Congressional
Delegation
503 House Annex 1
Washington, DC 20510

Elvira Paz
Professor of Food Science
University of the District of
Columbia
4200 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20008

Elena C. Pell
Project Associate
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017

Janis Petrovich
Deputy National Director
ASPIRA
1112 16th St., NW, Suite 2900
Washington, DC 20036

Margarita Prieto
Employment Training and Policy
Fellow
National Council of La Raza
20 F Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Nancy Ramos
External Programs Coordinator
DHHS/PHS/OASH/OMH
200 Independence Ave., SW, Rm 118F
Washington, DC 20201

Marsha Renwanz
Staff Director
Senate Labor & Human Resources
Committee
Subcommittee on Children
Washington, DC 20510

Honorable Peter Rios
Arizona State Senator
P.O. Box 451
Hayden, Arizona 85234

Gloria Rios
P.O. Box 451
Hayden, AZ 85235

Charlene Rivera
Development Association
2924 Columbia Pike
Arlington, VA 22204

Dr. Harriet Romo
Project Coordinator
Committee for Public Policy
Research on Hispanic Issues
Center for Mexican-American Studies
University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX 78712

Margarita Roque
Staff Member
Congressional Hispanic Caucus
Annex H-2, Room 557
Washington, DC 20515

Blanca I. Ruiz
Project Manager
Massachusetts Dept. of Public
Welfare
180 Tremont Street
Boston, MA 02111

Dr. Ramon L. Santiago
Director BE/EO Service Center
Georgetown University
6020 Dinwiddle St.
Springfield, VA 22150

Marilina Sanz
Public Policy Coordinator
National Puerto Rican Coalition
1700 K Street, NW, #500
Washington, DC 20006

Julia R. Scott
Special Assistant to the President
Children's Defense Fund, Inc.
122 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Wilfredo Seda
Executive Director
Hispanic Center
225 N. 4th Street
Reading, PA 19601

Elaine L. Sierra
Appropriations Assistant
Office of Congressman Edward Roybal
2211 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Beverly Stubbee
Director, Program Operations
Children's Bureau
ACYF-OHDS-DHHS
P.O. Box 1182
Washington, DC 20013

Ivette Torres
First Vice President
National Conference of Puerto Rican
Women
1010 Vermont Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20006

Raul Torres
Chairman of the Board
The Washington Group, Ltd
2828 Pennsylvania Ave., SW
Suite 410
Washington, DC 20007

John Trasvina
Counsel, Subcommittee on the
Constitution
Senate Judiciary Committee
Office of Senator Paul Simon
462 Dirksen Senate Building
Washington, DC 20510

Lupe A. Uresti
Mayor Pro-Tem
City of Rosenberg
2700 Cambridge
Rosenberg, TX 77471

Rafael Valdivieso
Vice President for Research
Hispanic Policy Development
Project
1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 310
Washington, DC 20036

Arturo Vargas
Senior Policy Fellow
National Council of La Raza
20 F street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Maureen Waters
Senate Finance Committee
Washington, DC 20510

Rita Webb, MSW
Social Worker
Children's Hospital National
Medical Center
2220 11th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009

Elizabeth White
Planner/Analyst
St. Christopher's Hospital
5th and LeHigh Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19133

Marshall Wong
Mayor's Office on Latino Affairs
2000 14th St., NW, 2nd Floor
Washington, DC 20009

Angel Zapata
Program Officer
The Joyce Foundation
135 S. LaSalle, Suite 4010
Chicago, IL 60603

PANELISTS

Carmen Cortez
Director of Programs
AVANCE
1226 N.W. 18th Street
San Antonio, TX 78207

Dr. Jane Delgado
President
National Coalition of Hispanic Health
and Human Service Organizations
(COSSMHO)
1030 15th St., NW
Washington, DC 20005

Mr. Thomas Gabe
Specialist in Social Legislation
Library of Congress
Congressional Research Service
Education and Public Welfare Division
Room L-320
1st Independence Ave., SE
Washington, DC 20540

Robert Greenstein
Director
Center on Budget & Policy Priorities
236 Mass. Ave., NE, Suite 305
Washington, DC 20002

Lawrence Hunter
Consultant on Welfare Reform
Office of Policy Development
The White House; Old Executive
Office Building, Rm 231
Washington, DC 20500

Mr. Hernan LaFontaine
Superintendent
Hartford Public Schools
249 High Street
Hartford, CT 06103

Dr. Arturo Madrid
President
The Tomas Rivera Center
The Claremont Colleges
Claremont, CA 91711

Ms. Beatriz Olvera-Stotzer
Immediate Past President
Comision Femenil Mexicana Nacional
5417 Norwich Avenue
Van Nuys, CA 91411

Mr. Cesar Perales
Commissioner
New York State Department of
Social Services
40 North Pearl Street
Albany, NY 12243

Ms. Ann Rosewater
Staff Director
House Select Committee on Children,
Youth, and Families
Rm H2-385, House Annex 2
Washington, DC 20515

Mr. Mike Stephens
Staff Member
U.S. House Appropriations Committee
Russell House Office Building
Room 2358
Washington, DC 20515

Dr. Marta Tienda
Professor
Department of Rural Sociology and
Institute for Research and
Poverty
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, WI 53706

Fernando Torres-Gil
Staff Director
House Select Committee on Aging
712 Annex 1
Washington, DC 20515

Gary Walker
Executive Vice-President
Public/Private Ventures
399 Market Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

Executive Summary

Every three and a half minutes a Latino child is born into poverty in this nation. In 1987, approximately 40 percent, or two in five, of all Latino children lived at or below the poverty line. Moreover, the increasing growth of the Hispanic population, a community which has increased by 30 percent from 1980 to 1987, in addition to the relative youth of the community, compounds an already alarming situation. Simply stated, significant numbers of Hispanic children constitute a population at risk.

The NALEO Education Fund, in June 1987, brought together a group of distinguished social scientists, policymakers, academics and social service administrators to address the salient issues of Hispanic child poverty. The purpose of the First National Conference on Latino Children in Poverty was to assess the conditions confronting the Hispanic community's children at risk. The Conference agenda, seeking to outline the scope of Latino child poverty, highlighted the following issues:

- **Family type:** The poverty rate for Latino children in two parent families is higher than the poverty rates for Black and non-Hispanic White children; these are 27.4 percent, 18.7 percent and 8.4 percent, respectively;

- **Family Size:** 42 percent of Latino children who live in poverty are in large families with four or more siblings, compared to 35 percent for non-Hispanic White children and 23 percent for Black children;

- **Parent's Education:** The dropout rate for Hispanics is as much as three times higher than the rates for non-Hispanic Whites and one and a half times higher than the rate for Blacks. Approximately 98 percent of Latino children of unwed mothers without a high school education are born into poverty.

Yet, the unique needs of Hispanic children in poverty, continue to be overlooked by the nation's federal policymakers, civic affairs researchers, and the media. As the Conference proceedings clearly demonstrate, poverty is no longer a biracial issue.

Policymakers at all levels of government need to become aware that although Hispanic children comprise approximately 10 percent of all children in the United States, they represent 27 percent of all children in poverty.

The consensus among the Conference participants was that there is a need to create a national awareness of the issues confronting low income Latino children – poverty's invisible victims.

PROCEEDINGS

INVISIBILITY IN THE DATA, INVISIBILITY IN THE POLICY: THE LATINO CHILD AND PUBLIC POLICY[1]

Every three and a half minutes a Latino child is born into poverty. In 1986 alone, almost 150,000 Latino children were born into households with earnings at levels lower than the federal poverty line. The newborn joined the 2.2 million Latino children already living in poverty. Despite these numbers, there is not a general social awareness of the unique needs of the poor in the Latino community.

To understand why Latino child poverty is being overlooked, one must remember the policy makers' axiom: statistical visibility equals policy visibility. Federal and state social welfare data are seldom collected or published in a manner that allows for the analysis of the salient characteristics of the Latino family and the unique characteristics of Latino subgroups, e.g., Mexican American, Cuban American, and Puerto Rican (Moore and Pachon, 1985). Thus, policy makers attempting to craft public programs to reach and serve the Hispanic family are often forced to work in a knowledge vacuum. The results can be seen in many federal social welfare policies which implicitly assume that poor Latino families share the characteristics of either Black or White families.[2]

The Bi-Racial Approach to the Study of Family Poverty

Three recent examples demonstrate the bi-racial orientation of data collection and dissemination and the dangers inherent in this sort of analysis.

The first example is the Congressional Research Service's study Children in Poverty (1985a). Of 50 statistical examinations in the CRS study, 41 depicted child poverty as a White versus Black or White versus Non-White phenomenon. Only five tables compared Hispanic poverty to poverty among Whites and Blacks. Such factors as education, underemployment, wages of parents, and the extent to which children are aided by noncash benefits are not examined for Hispanics while they are for White and Black children in poverty. Based on the CRS study, a Congressional staff member would not know what causes and perpetuates poverty among Hispanic children. The available data would not suggest the means to craft a program to target Latino poverty, nor would there be any reason to assume that existing programs were not as effective as they could be.[3]

A bi-racial perspective also clouds much of the Census Bureau analysis of Hispanic family poverty. The announcement by the Census Bureau of an overall decline in the poverty rate in 1985, for example, told only part of the story. Subsequent analysis by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities highlighted the fact that in 1985 more than 400,000 additional Hispanics fell below the poverty line. By the end of 1985, the Hispanic poverty rate stood at 29%, the second highest in history. The overall poverty rate declined because poverty among Blacks and Whites declined at a more rapid rate than the increase among Hispanics (1986).

---

[1] An abbreviated version of this article originally appeared in the Family Resource Coalition Report, vol. 6, no. 2.

[2] The terms Hispanic and Latino are used interchangeably. Both are used to refer to residents of the United States who can trace their ancestry to Spanish speaking Latin America or the Caribbean.

[3] Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

The public interest sector has been guilty as well. The highly respected Children's Defense Fund prepared a comprehensive examination of the impact of family structure, employment, income, poverty, child health, education, and living conditions on children in the United States. The title of the study, Black and White Children in America: Key Facts (1985), suggests its weakness as a resource for policy makers examining the Hispanic family.

Interestingly, from a methodological perspective the inclusion of Hispanics in the White category narrows the gap between Black and White and minimizes the socio-economic differences between Whites and Blacks in the United States today. Much of the available analysis of the characteristics of the population in poverty from all sources is clouded by this bi-racial approach.

Salient Characteristics of the Latino Family

These studies are not chosen because they are extreme. Instead, they are representative of national policy analysis on race and family structure. Their omission of analysis of the Hispanic family might be justified if the Hispanic family had no unique characteristics. An emerging body of academic study suggests otherwise.

Under pressure from NALEO, the CRS performed a follow-up study to its Children in Poverty, specifically examining available data on the Hispanic community (1985b). Hispanic Children in Poverty documented that:

- The Hispanic community has the largest proportion of children relative to its total population (37.3%), compared to that of Whites (25.3%) and Blacks (33.3%).
- Hispanic children have the highest poverty rate among children in the states of New York, New Jersey, Texas, and New Mexico.
- Latino children in families headed by a male are more likely to be poor than Black or White children in male-headed households (27.3%, compared with 23.6% and 11.9%).

Poverty among the young is an increasing problem in the Latino community. In 1986, 37.1% of all Latino children lived in poverty conditions. This represents an increase of 33% over Latino child poverty levels in 1973, the first year in which poverty data on the Latino community was collected by the Census Bureau.

A Research Agenda

If future social programs are based in part on existing programs, policy makers need to become aware of the unique characteristics of the Latino family that differentiate them from Anglo and Black families and the degree to which existing programs are meeting the needs of the Latino community. While the unique characteristics of the Hispanic family are beginning to enter the popular debate, the second area, that of services, remains largely unexamined.

While this client-beneficiary analysis is the next analytical step, the available federal and state data may again present problems. In spite of specific federal legislation which mandates the collection of statistical data on the Hispanic community (PL 94-311, the Roybal Act), client-beneficiary data of federal and state social programs often fail to include a Hispanic indicator. Moreover, if Hispanic data are present, there is often no means for determining Latino subgroup characteristics. A clear priority is to identify those programs with reliable Hispanic data. Assessments will then be possible of whether the coverage of the Hispanic population is equitable and/or sufficient or not.

Conclusions and Future Directions

For policy makers the initial challenge is to improve and disseminate both general demographic studies and client-beneficiary data on the Hispanic community. Once the demographics of the Hispanic family are understood and the success of existing social programs in meeting the needs of the Hispanic community are known, Hispanic-specific social policies can be designed that will meet the needs of this population.

Bibliography

Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (1986). "Hispanic Poverty Rises in 1985, Sets Several New Records; Likely to Surpass Black Poverty in 1990, New Study Says." Washington, DC.

Children's Defense Fund (1985). Black and White Children in America: Key Facts. Washington, DC.

Congressional Research Service (1985a). Children in Poverty. Washington, DC.

Congressional Research Service (1985b). Hispanic Children in Poverty. Washington, DC.

Moore, Joan and Harry Pachon (1985). Hispanics in the United States. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc.
Pachon, Harry P. and Louis DeSipio (1987, August). "Invisibility in the Data, Invisibility in the Policy: The Latino Family and Public Policy." The Family Resource Coalition Report, vol. 6, No. 2.

Welcome from the Executive Director of NALEO

Harry P. Pachon

It's my pleasure as Executive Director of NALEO to introduce the President of the Board of NALEO who will officially welcome us for today's conference.

He is an individual who, throughout his life, has given much of himself to the Hispanic community and to the cause of children in poverty.

He was the first Hispanic to be elected to the Los Angeles City Council in the 20th Century. He was the first Hispanic to be elected as Congressman from California in the past 80 years. He is the chairman of a key Congressional appropriations subcommittee.

These are personal accomplishments. I think you can get a better idea of the Congressman if you realize that he has also been a founder of many significant political and civic organizations in the Hispanic community.

Starting in the 1940s, he was a co-founder of the Community Service Organizations, a co-founder of the Mexican-American Political Association, a founder of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and a founder of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO).

Throughout his public service career, he has given much to the cause of children in poverty as witnessed by his record on the Appropriations Committee of Labor, Health and Human Services. He has also spearheaded the drive to set up a separate institute for children's issues patterned on the National Institutes of Health.

It is my pleasure to present the President of the Board, Congressman Edward R. Roybal of California.

Opening Remarks
Edward R. Roybal, M.C.

Thank you very much, Mr. Pachon. Ladies and gentlemen, my duty this morning is rather simple. I am to welcome you to NALEO's First National Conference on Latino Children in Poverty. However, it is not the first conference to be held on this subject.

I remember quite well attending conferences such as this in the past, not just ten years ago, not even twenty years ago, but as many as forty years ago. When I was a social worker in Los Angeles I attended a conference in Sacramento because I was interested in the health problems of the young. I was involved in tuberculosis control, and we had found out during the time I was in training that the incidence of tuberculosis among Hispanics was high; children were suffering as a consequence.

That conference focused on the health problems of the young in California, and no matter what else was said the word "poverty" was always mentioned. For example, the high incidence of tuberculosis was highly correlated with poverty. I became interested because I, myself, had been a victim of poverty in East Los Angeles when I was growing up. That was during the Depression, but the situation has not improved for thousands and thousands of Hispanics in this country since the 1930s.

When I was elected to the Los Angeles City Council back in 1949, I was assigned to the Committee on Health and Education because I was interested in those subjects. I remember my staff conducting a study that showed the relationship of education to poverty. We found out that the high dropout rate in junior high school was mostly due to the poverty cycle. (Now this is true at the high school level.)

We went out into Boyle Heights to try to find out what was happening. We interviewed dozens of families, large families who had eight, nine and ten children, with two who had already dropped out of junior high school. We asked why.

In each and every instance, the mother would say that her children had to drop out of school because they didn't have shoes to wear and didn't want to go barefoot, or because of some other reason specifically related to poverty.

As we look at the situation today we find that statistically we are no better off today than we were in 1949. In fact, poverty in the Hispanic community has increased, not decreased.

Now, that is quite amazing considering that we have had twenty years of legislation directed to decreasing poverty in the United States of America. I took part in the Congressional debates on the topic, first during the Kennedy Administration and then in the Johnson Administration, and I remember the arguments of that time, the same arguments that exist today with regard to Medicare.

Those arguments, in sum, were: We cannot afford it. We cannot afford, opponents would say, to put money into this particular project or the other because of the constraints of the federal budget and because we are so afraid of the Russians that we have to place our money somewhere else.

When we discussed poverty in Congress, there was always someone who said that if individuals actually wanted to get out of the poverty cycle, they could do so. Many

Congressmen got up and said, "I went to college because I worked for it, and I deserve that degree."

Well, I went to college, too, but not on a continuous basis. I was in and out because I also had to work. I know what the situation is. But the individualistic argument was heard by a large segment of not only our population but also the legislators who had a vote on poverty-related appropriations.

When we were debating Medicare, I remember very well we were told that if we established a health insurance system in this country, it would be the first step towards socialism, or the second step because the first step had already been taken with Social Security. If we took the second step, this country would be lost to socialism, which would eventually destroy it.

Every time we dealt with problems of education, every time we dealt with problems of poverty, of squalor and disease, we had that same argument: that we as a nation could not afford to improve conditions.

I hear those arguments again against a national health plan. Isn't it a disgrace that we, the most affluent nation in the world, have something in common with South Africa? We and South Africa are the only two industrialized nations in the world that do not have a health plan. The arguments for why we don't are that we cannot afford it, or that if we do afford it, we will become a socialistic country. And those who argue this way are the same people who vote for subsidies to agriculture, the airlines, and big business.

You should have heard the arguments on the other side when we were going to appropriate $250 million, or $480 million actually in total, to bail out Lockheed and Chrysler. That was certainly a subsidy. I got up on the floor of the House and I said, "What difference does it make whether you indirectly subsidize jobs or provide food stamps for the poor? These are food stamps for Chrysler." I voted for the appropriations because I felt that they were needed for the health of the national economy, but those who oppose doing something about poverty are not those who are thinking of the good of the nation.

I didn't really intend to go into this, but I'm bringing it up because a conference such as this can make a difference. It can make a difference because someone else isn't defining the problem. Hispanics--experts, professors, community people--are involved in this problem, and together we're going to have a discussion where we're going to ask all kinds of questions.

But we are not going to stop there, as we have done in the past. I remember very well that previous conferences have produced recommendations and resolutions. Then we went home and said, "Well, we passed these recommendations and resolutions," and we did nothing more about them.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, if we're going to pass recommendations and resolutions and then forget about them, we might as well not be here. We are no longer going to participate in the practices of the past. We're going to take part in a new program where we sit down and discuss our own problems and make recommendations not only to ourselves, but also to members of Congress who are also concerned.

Just two years ago the House of Representatives established a Select Committee on Children and Youth, not because we wanted more work. We have enough now as it is. We established the Committee because there is a great need to look into this matter.

As an example, I saw in some of your

brochures that the conditions in Texas today are worse than those in Appalachia. As Chairman of the Committee on Aging, I've been to Appalachia many times, as I have been to various parts of the country to look at the needs of senior citizens. But with senior citizens come grandchildren, and these children also live in poverty.

Congress is aware of it but it is liable to do nothing except argue and debate. There will always be reasons found for why we cannot improve conditions. We need to do the work to get legislation passed.

We need to start pressuring the members of Congress to vote on behalf of poor children. You don't have to go too far to see poverty. Just walk four blocks from here and you'll find it. Go to my own district and you'll find it. You'll find it all over the United States. But it should not exist.

Let us take the responsibility. We have talked about this, we have debated it, but we haven't done the work necessary to get legislation passed. This is why I wanted to come here this morning, because I want to challenge you. I wanted to be sure that NALEO was an organization that can go before Congress and present facts.

You are part of those facts. I'm not an expert in this field. Other members of Congress are not necessarily going to believe what I say. But they will believe you because you have credentials. You know this field better than anyone else. You're involved in it, and we, the members of Congress, can learn from you. But unless you follow through on what you do today, it's going to be a nice Friday but very unproductive.

Let's make it productive. Let's work together to see that the Conference on Children and Youth actually takes place and that the Hispanic community actually participates.

We must also go beyond that conference. We must be sure that elected representatives are on our side when the time comes to provide necessary funds because, if we don't, our community will continue to suffer from the cycle of poverty.

Yes, Hispanics will be the youngest community in the year 2000, but if the current situation continues, we will also be the least educated and the poorest. Let us break the cycle. I think, ladies and gentlemen, that together we can do it.

Thank you very much.

DR. PACHON: I would like to echo what the Congressman has stated so articulately. This NALEO conference is a working conference. We hope that you in the audience will challenge our presenters, engage in a dialectic with them, ask them questions, and make observations. As this conference is being transcribed and the proceedings are going to be published, we hope that you participate fully.

NALEO, as an association of Latino elected and appointed officials and the people who support them, is unique. It does not accept government funding. It is one of the few organizations that has never received any federal government support. Instead, it relies on the Hispanic community and the friends of the Hispanic community to support its activities.

With regard to today's conference, we appreciate the Carnegie Foundation of New York and the Gannett Foundation for their generous support, which has allowed us to bring together such a stellar panel of speakers.

Panel One

I would now like to call our first three panelists, Professor Marta Tienda, Dr. Arturo Madrid, and Mr. Thomas Gabe. Our first presenter is Dr. Marta Tienda. She is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago. She is affiliated with the University's Population Research Center, a nationally recognized, multi-disciplinary center for population studies.

Dr. Marta Tienda's expertise is in the field of Hispanic labor market participation. She is the co-author of the recently published book Hispanics in the United States Economy. She is the author of many articles in scholarly journals.

DR. TIENDA: It is truly a privilege to participate in a policy-setting forum focused on the problem of Latino children and to share some of the findings and conclusions of my recent research on this subject. With the sponsorship of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, we have conducted a conference on minority poverty and social policy. We have also done research on the topic and already have a couple of bids to publish a book on our findings. The research is comparative, and deals with some very difficult social policy issues. We don't have a lot of solutions, but hope that we are beginning to ask some of the important questions.

I am participating in this conference because I believe in the importance of recognizing the issue of Hispanic poverty in general, and the consequences for children in particular. I believe that this is a conference that can lead to some changes.

Sociologically, I find it useful to approach the problem of poverty from a familial perspective for several reasons. First, families are the basic unit of social organization, a key vehicle for transferring information and resources, and an important link to the formal, institutional structures of society at large, including schools, the labor market, and the formal support system.

Second, living arrangements mediate the social consequences of poverty and material deprivation. For example, persisting unemployment of family heads frequently results in family dissolution, and youth experience with chronically low wages translate into educational underachievement, early marriage, and out-of-wedlock births.

Third, although there exists no coherent governmental family policy per se, many anti-poverty programs are designed around family units. AFDC is the most conspicuous, but Social Security survivors benefits, educational assistance programs, and several health and feeding programs, as well as some employment and training programs, define their eligible populations by taking into account family/household characteristics that, in demographic terms, we define as "living arrangements."

The fact that income generation and distribution takes place mainly within familial or household settings enables us to establish direct links between children's economic well-being and several correlates of family poverty: 1) changes in labor market opportunities; 2) changes in living arrangements, particularly the rise in female-headed households, divorce, and out-of-wedlock births to never married women; and 3) shifts in social policy, especially in the realm of income maintenance programs and training/employment programs.

My own work on Latino poverty has concentrated on three correlates of poverty identified in the growing research literature. First is the headship (head of household) structure, and specifically the increase in the prevalence of female-headed households in the Latino population. Second is educational underachievement of Hispanic youth, a carryover from the low levels of attainment of their parents. And third, there is the factor of labor market related hardships.

Based on this work, I have reached a general conclusion that labor market related problems experienced by Latinos, particularly those of Puerto Rican and Mexican origin, and not their individual characteristics or deficiencies, are the single most important source of the impoverization of Latino children. The effects are transmitted through the schools and other social and community institutions, but I think that the key causal factor resides in the labor market, itself.

When rates of labor force participation fall, and when the average number and length of unemployment spells increase, as they have for minority men and women during the recessions of the 1970s and early 1980s, families are put under extreme stress. The consequences of these changes in economic opportunities affect the material well-being of children through two mechanisms--directly, by reducing annual income, and indirectly, by increasing the likelihood of family disruption in previously intact families, school noncompletion, and early marriage/childbearing.

I know of no study that has attempted to quantify these two effects in aggregate terms, although approximations should be possible on the basis of existing data. From the standpoint of children's experience with poverty, consequences of material deprivation may be quite long term, extending into adulthood and possibly the next generation.

In the remainder of time allotted, I would like to report on some recent estimates of changes in Latino family poverty from 1960 to 1985 and analyze the relative importance of changes in headship structure and in employment status of family heads to the production of the observed net changes in Latino poverty over the past quarter century. I will argue that structural factors, namely the health of the economy and the U.S. labor market, are important barometers of Latino poverty and Latino child poverty in particular. I will also compare the experience of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans with other Hispanics and non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks, I will also illustrate the persisting and possibly increasing significance of national origin and race in determining the likelihood of poverty for Latino children.

The importance of tracing changes in the relative economic status of Latinos from 1960 to 1985 resides in three sets of circumstances which have direct implications for social policy. First, the 1960s marked a major turning point in social policy with the enactment of Civil Rights legislation and the declaration of the War on Poverty. Hence, one would expect a modest to substantial improvement in the economic well-being of minorities who were their main intended beneficiaries.

Second, the 1960 to 1985 period witnessed four recessions, the last two, from 1974 to 1976 and from 1980 to 1982, quite substantial in their consequences. If social and economic consequences of recession fall disproportionately on people of color, we would expect limited improvements and a widening gap between minority and nonminority populations during this period. On the other hand, a narrow gap between Latinos and Anglos would suggest the contrary, that is, that the effects of recession are disproportionately felt by the Anglo population, or at least not disproportionately by the two groups.

Finally, a quarter-century time frame within which to evaluate changes in the relative economic status of Latinos and other minorities provides a long-term perspective from which to evaluate trends, make forecasts about prospects for change in the near term future, and design social policy recommendations for accelerating or redirecting change in accordance with the social goals set forth during the progressive 1960s.

My summary of Latino family poverty between 1960 and 1985 is based on the absolute poverty index as reported in most government documents. Despite numerous limitations of this measure, widely discussed elsewhere, it provides the most consistent measure of economic deprivation and also allows for some assessment of progress against poverty over time.

Absolute poverty rates declined for Latino, Black, and non-Hispanic White families during the 1960s and the 1970s, but the differential rates of change altered the poverty profile according to race and national origin. Black, Mexican, and other Hispanic family poverty rates fell 42% for Mexicans and 49% for other Hispanics between 1960 and 1980. (The latter category includes Cubans, Central and South Americans, and a residual population.)

However, the Puerto Rican poverty rates dropped six percentage points during the '60s and actually rose five percentage points during the '70s. As such, the net change in Puerto Rican poverty was negligible between 1960 and 1980, less than three percent.

Absolute poverty increased for all groups in the first half of the 1980s but, again, differentially according to race and national origin. Puerto Ricans and non-Hispanic Whites experienced the sharpest rates of increase, nearly 19%. However, for Puerto Rican families, this meant an increase of six percentage points in the share of families with poverty incomes, while for Whites the comparable increase was just over one percentage point.

On balance, the very patterns of change in relative and absolute poverty for minority and nonminority families show persisting, even increasingly pronounced, inequities along racial and national origin lines. The burning question is why. Why did White family poverty rates decline faster than those of Latino and Black families between 1960 and 1980 despite civil rights legislation designed to produce the opposite result? And why were the increased poverty risks associated with the 1980 to 1982 recession much greater for Latino and Black families? Is there no safety net, or is the safety net also color coded?

The differences in Latino, Black, and non-Hispanic White economic well-being appear even more complex when evaluated in light of the changes in headship arrangements and family composition documented in recent years. To the extent that national origin differentials in headship structure and labor supply have become more diverse over time, family poverty risks should vary accordingly. For example, a decline in the share of families headed by couples usually involves an increased reliance on transfer income and/or modifications in family labor supply patterns.

One way to demonstrate links between aggregate demographic changes (notably the increasing prevalence of female-headed households), labor market conditions, and the poverty of Latino children, is through a theoretical standardization exercise which makes variable assumptions about changes in headship structure and labor force behavior of Latino and non-Latino families.

Let's pretend that the headship structure and labor force behavior possible during the 1960s, when we launched the massive social programs, was still intact. Then we could ask what the Latino family poverty rate would have been in 1984 in the absence of change.

This standardization exercise, while "academic" in its execution, focuses on two of the most important and controversial correlates of poverty inasmuch as employment status and headship structure are the key elements of the persisting poverty syndrome and vehicles of transmitting economic disadvantage across generations.

We can hypothesize that a shift toward greater prevalence of single head families will be associated with increases in poverty, while increases in the proportion of families with two or more earners will produce the opposite effect. As these consequences are mutually offsetting, an analysis of this type assesses the net change in poverty resulting from both types of compositional change.

Beginning with Blacks, the results show that changes in headship structure and labor force status were associated with a decline in the mean income of Black families on the order of 12 percent, and an absolute poverty rate 28 percent higher than would have obtained had the demographic composition (and category specific poverty rates) remained constant. A comparison of the headship and labor force composition of the Black population between 1960 and 1985 (raw inputs for this computation) locates the sources of change which resulted in lower income and higher poverty rates in 1985 for Blacks.

First, the proportion of couple families with both heads employed increased slightly between 1960 and 1980 (+7.6%), but this share fell again during the 1980s. Second, the share of single head families in which the head was not employed more than doubled (+110%), while the increase in the number of families with employed single heads was relatively smaller (+82%). Thus, the faster growth of single head families, especially those with heads who were not in the labor force, coupled with decreases in the share of couple families where either the head or both spouses were employed, was largely responsible for the net change in Black poverty from 1960 to 1985.

The results from the analysis for Puerto Ricans are similar to those for Blacks except that the magnitude of the compositional changes on mean family incomes and absolute poverty rates were much greater. For example, the changes in the demographic composition of Puerto Rican families between 1960 and 1985 resulted in a decrease of mean family incomes of approximately 25 percent, or twice the rate experienced by Blacks. Comparable changes in headship structure and labor force status also produced absolute poverty rates 113 percent higher than would have been observed had these characteristics not evolved in the manner they did since 1960.

These impressive differences in Puerto Rican mean family income and poverty rates relative to those of non-Hispanic white families can be traced to the dramatic increase in the proportion of single head families with no head employed, which rose from 10 to 35 percentage points between 1960 and 1985 (or by a whopping 248 percent), and the sharp rise between 1960 and 1985 in the proportion of couple families with neither head employed. During this 25-year period the proportion of Puerto Rican couples with both heads employed fluctuated modestly, but registered a net decline of 14 percent by 1985. Meanwhile the proportion of couples with neither head employed rose by one-third (from 9 to 12 percentage points). In short, the deteriorating labor market status of minority workers, especially Puerto Ricans, was primarily responsible for the increased poverty rates during the early 1980s. However academic in

Table 1

A DECOMPOSITION OF THE EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND HEADSHIP ON THE MEAN FAMILY INCOMES AND POVERTY RATES OF MINORITY AND NONMINORITY FAMILIES

	Blacks	Mexicans	Puerto Ricans	Other Hispanics	Non-Hispanic Whites
Actual (1985)					
Mean Income[a]	$20,252	$22,780	$17,553	$27,023	$33,959
Absolute Poverty	30.6	24.0	41.4	17.8	7.7
Expected 1985, Assuming 1960 Demographic Composition[b]					
Mean Income[a]	$23,107	$22,034	$23,239	$27,201	$34,645
Absolute Poverty	24.0	25.1	19.4	16.2	7.5
Expected 1985, Assuming White Demographic Composition[b]					
Mean Income[a]	$25,196	$24,016	$24,542	$27,891	--[c]
Absolute Poverty	19.1	21.8	18.7	15.3	--[c]
Percentage Difference Due to Change in Demographic Composition,[b] 1960-1985					
Mean Income[a]	-12.4	3.4	-24.5	-0.6	-2.0
Absolute Poverty	28.0	-4.4	113.4	9.9	2.7
Percentage Difference Due to Minority Demographic Composition[b]					
Mean Income[a]	-19.6	-5.1	-28.5	-3.1	--[c]
Absolute Poverty	60.2	10.1	121.4	16.3	--[c]

Source: Adapted from "Poverty and Minorities: A Quarter Century Profile of Color and Socioeconomic Disadvantage," 1988 (in press).

[a] Incomes in constant 1985 dollars.

[b] Demographic composition refers to a combination of headship structure and employment status of the heads. See text for explanation.

[c] Same as actual 1985 white composition.

its execution, our analysis has clear policy implications in underscoring the urgency of increasing the employability of Puerto Rican and Black family heads.

The patterns and impact of changes in the demographic composition of Mexican families were quite different from those observed among Blacks and Puerto Ricans both in their magnitude and direction. For example, the changing demographic composition of Mexicans resulted in an increase in mean family income. Alternatively stated, had the 1960 demographic composition remained constant over time, the mean income levels of Mexican families would have been 3.4 percent below the levels actually observed in 1984. Thus, demographic changes helped lower absolute poverty for Mexican families. Increases in the proportion of families with two employed heads, and with at least one employed spouse largely accounted for the improvement in the relative economic well-being of Mexicans during the 1960-1985 period. Although the share of families with two heads employed declined after 1980, the share with a working spouse increased to offset the income losses associated with the former change. In contrast to shifts observed for Blacks and Puerto Ricans, the proportion of Mexican families with single heads who were unemployed rose modestly, with this increase occurring after 1980, presumably as a result of the deep recession in the early 1980s.

In summary, it appears that intertemporal changes in headship structure and employment status of family head were associated with the observed decreases in the economic well-being of Black, Puerto Rican, and, to a much lesser extent, other Hispanic and non-Hispanic White families.

The increases in poverty over the last 25 years due to changing headship structure and employment status of family heads largely involve growth of single head families and decreases in the proportion of families with at least one employed household head. Although the share of families with employed spouses rose for all ethnic groups, in the main these increases were insufficient to offset losses incurred by higher rates of unemployment or joblessness by male heads of families.

By contrast, changes in the demographic composition of Mexican families favor the reduction of poverty over time. However, the increasing feminization and growing unemployment of head of household contributed to the poverty gap between Latino and Black families and non-Hispanic White families. It is unclear yet to what extent the composition of immigrant families as compared to native born families and the continuing influx of immigrants from Mexico mitigate the poverty pattern for the Mexican-origin population.

While instructive about the importance of demographic change in maintaining minority and nonminority poverty differentials, this exercise does not explain the reasons for growth of single head families or changes in the employment statuses of heads. Both of these topics deserve consideration in their own right.

I agree with the Congressman that employment problems and the disintegration of families as reflected by the growth of female-headed households is important for perpetuation of poverty. However, my analyses call attention to the differential impacts of slow economic growth on minority and nonminority families, a different topic also deserving careful empirical scrutiny.

In conclusion, the comparative approach attempts to shed new light on the significance of race in the persistence of disadvantage. The empirical record provides ample evidence that Puerto Rican families have become more similar to Blacks in terms of their headship structure. However, with respect to employment, they seem to be worse off than Blacks. The fact that the poverty rate has soared for Puerto Rican families, while declining for Black families, can largely be traced to the greater success of Black women in the labor market. Whereas participation rates for Black women increased during the 1960s and '70s, the rates for Puerto Rican women dropped substantially during the 1960s and recovered during the 1970s, registering little inter-decade change.

Thus, further queries about the sources of Puerto Rican disadvantage must begin by asking why the labor market position of Puerto Rican women has deteriorated to the extent it has and what can be done to bring it up to par with that of other minority women.

To ignore this critical problem will practically insure the perpetuation of a syndrome of persisting poverty among Puerto Rican children, particularly the growing numbers residing in female-headed households. A study I have completed within the last three weeks suggests clearly that the declining labor market position of Puerto Ricans is associated with the industrial restructuring of the labor markets in which Puerto Ricans are disproportionately concentrated.

It takes a long time for a population to redistribute itself to search new employment opportunities, and this kind of response to poverty and disadvantage is not possible for the most impoverished populations. Migration to better job opportunities is simply not an option that can be activated in the short run.

The poverty experience of Puerto Ricans is a sobering lesson in losing ground, but it is not intended to deflect attention from the persistent poverty of other Latinos and Blacks. Rather, we call attention to this group because it sharpens questions for future research and for policy agendas.

In the former arena, it is critical to ascertain causal links between rising poverty rates, declining labor force participation, and the sharp increases in families headed by women. The origins of variation in headship and employment patterns differ markedly according to race and national origin. Taking note of these differences, as well as similarities, in the patterns of relationship should enable research to decode the complex causal structures involved. More importantly, understanding these differences is the critical first step for decoding the intergenerational transmission of deprivation from adults to children.

In the policy arena, the need for employment and training programs cannot be overstated. In a recent study with one of my graduate students, we showed that secondary earner income, that is, the financial contributions of additional family members from their participation in the labor market, was a far more effective hedge against poverty than the administration of means-tested welfare income transfers. Yet some groups, notably Blacks and Puerto Ricans, are witnessing appreciable increases in the number of families with no earners. For them the secondary earner strategy will not be effective because people are not employable; there are no jobs in the labor markets in which they are living.

Are the children in these families trapped in cycles of poverty? Will we see increases in the prevalence of persisting poverty for Black and Puerto Rican children? Why have their numbers increased rather than decreased, and why have our welfare and employment policies failed them more than other groups of similar or different ethnicity?

We suspect that existing labor market discrimination and the persisting, possibly increasing, disability of race may hold partial answers, but it is doubtful that either the reasons for persisting poverty in Black and Puerto Rican families or the solutions for its eradication are identical.

Returning to the question of Latino children and poverty, questions must be multi-faced and answers, comprehensive. Hopefully, this conference will make a major stride in identifying the multi-faceted causes of childhood poverty and setting in place comprehensive remedies for its various manifestations.

Thank you.

DR. PACHON: Our next presenter is Dr. Arturo Madrid. Dr. Madrid is President of the Tomas Rivera Center, the National Institute for Policy Studies in Claremont, California. In that position he directs research on issues of concern to the Mexican-American and other Hispanic populations in the United States.

Dr. Madrid served previously as a faculty member at Dartmouth College, University of California, San Diego, and the University of Minnesota. During the Carter Administration he was Director of the Fund for the Improvement for Post Secondary Education, FIPSE. His doctorate is from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Dr. Madrid.

DR. MADRID: Let me preface my remarks by saying that I appreciate very much the introduction by Congressman Roybal. I think it is important to hear our concerns reiterated. In a sense, as we say in Spanish, we're raining on wet ground, but I think it's important to keep hammering the message through.

I am not specifically a researcher on poverty. I'm a specialist in the uses and misuses of language. I am concerned with the significance of discourse. How you define issues determines how you address them, and over the past decade our power to shape discourse has been declining.

Discussions about poverty have been manipulated to suggest that we are causing our own problems. Today I intend to examine how this has occurred and make suggestions about how we can turn the argument around.

There are a number of concerns which need restating. Recently, eleven education groups met here in Washington to call attention to a very serious situation. These organizations, the Forum of Educational Organization Leaders, issued a joint statement declaring that between a quarter and a third of the nation's 40 million public school children are at risk of failing and/or dropping out. Increasing high school graduation requirements and generally stiffening school standards do not address this situation. Indeed, higher standards may exacerbate the problem by causing more students to fail and thus leave school.

As serious as the educational situation is with respect to the general population, it is far worse for Latinos. Imagine the shock if it were reported that 45% of all American students never complete high school; that 40% of these leave before completing tenth grade; and that nearly 75% of those students who do persist are in vocational and general education tracks.

Such is the case with Latino students, but unfortunately this reality does not cause the outcry that would occur if it were true of the general high school population.

Let me outline some of the common

school conditions for Latino students. They are disproportionately concentrated in large, overcrowded, and segregated schools (Espinoza, 1986; Espinoza and Ochoa, 1986; Orum, 1986; Solorano, 1987; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971). Compared to those schools that predominantly enroll White students, Latino-dominant schools receive fewer local and state education dollars per pupil (Espinoza, 1985; Espinoza and Solorano, 1987; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972).

Moreover, the quality of school services is lower in Latino-dominant than in White-dominant schools (Espinoza, 1986). Compared to White-dominant elementary and secondary schools, the curricula in Latino-dominant schools is more remedial in emphasis (Brown and Haycock, 1984; Oakes, 1985; Orum, 1986).

Compared to secondary schools primarily attended by White students, those which principally enroll Latinos are more likely to track students into general and vocational education as opposed to college preparatory programs. For example, the 1980 "High School and Beyond" survey found that 40% of Whites, 33% of Blacks, and 27% of Latinos were in the college preparatory track (National Science Foundation, 1986, Appendix Table 32; Oakes, 1985; Orum, 1986). In contrast to the staff in schools that are White-dominant, the teaching staff in Latino-dominant schools manifest lower academic expectations of their students and assume less responsibility for their education (Baron, Tom, and Cooper, 1985; Percell, 1977; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973).

In contrast with White students, Latino students do less well educationally. In grades one through four, 28% of Latino students are enrolled below their normal grades as compared to 20% of Whites. In grades five through eight, 40% of Latinos are below grade level, as compared to 27% of Whites. In the ninth and tenth grades, 43% of Latinos versus 23% of Whites are a grade behind, and of those who make it to the eleventh and twelfth grades, 35% of Latinos are behind at least one grade as compared to 21% of Whites.

Thirty-seven percent of Latinos versus 14% of Whites have dropped out of high school by the time they are 19 years old. Sixty percent of those did so before the tenth grade. Ten percent of Latinos versus 25% of Whites have completed a four-year college degree. This is particularly ironic because, despite Latino-White differences in school outcomes, when social class is controlled, Latino parents have higher educational aspirations for their children than do White parents (Sanchez and Cardoza, 1984), and minority youth have higher education aspirations than do Whites (Crowley and Shapiro, 1982).

It turns out that the percentage of Hispanic students in a school is strongly related to the academic achievement level of that school. The more Hispanic students, the lower the average achievement scores. However, when socioeconomic status is taken into consideration, this relationship is reduced by up to 75%.[1] This means that poverty is highly correlated with the academic achievement of Latino children.

There have been a number of models used to explain the causes of these educational inequalities over the last 30 to 40 years. Principally, they are deficit models. They are used to explain or, as I usually say, "explain away" the educational inequities that exist in our society.

---

[1] As an example, in California, the square of the Pearson correlation coefficient (which indexes the strength of the relationship between two variables) between reading achievement and percent of Hispanic students in a school is 31% at Grade 3, 31% at Grade 6, and 31% at Grade 8. When the effect of socio-economic status is taken out, these figures drop to 7%, 6.6%, and 3.7% respectively.

Deficit models have been challenged over and over again. "Han quedado desprestigados," but, unfortunately, they are still alive and well in America. These models fall into three general groupings emphasizing cultural, genetic or structural deficiencies.

The first model claims that educational underachievement is due to cultural deficits, those values and characteristics that so-called experts have assigned to us over the years. We are told that Latinos are noncompetitive, passive, present-time oriented, unambitious, and concerned about immediate satisfaction versus deferred gratification.

The second grouping is genetic deficits. This is the Arthur Jensen school that takes its cue from studies of genetic inferiority, declaring that environment has little or no influence. It is a function of nature, not nurture.

And there are those explanations based on social-structural, internal, deficits that focus on family structure. Male-dominated house-holds explain why we don't succeed; Spanish language usage gets in the way, et cetera, et cetera.

As I said, these arguments, though they have often been blown out of the water, to use contemporary lingo, still flourish in American discourse, camouflaged to be sure, but still here.

Recently we have had some more sophisticated models promoted. A very important one is the status attainment model. It refers to those sets of events by which individuals come to occupy positions of wealth, power, and prestige in social hierarchies (Haller and Portes, 1973). The earliest of these models, those of Blau and Duncan (1967), focused on the effects of the education and occupation of fathers on the educational and occupational attainment of their children, particularly their sons.

The follow-up design, the Wisconsin Status Attainment Model, extended the concept to include mediating links between family socioeconomic status and individual ability, on the one hand, and educational and occupational attainment on the other. The critical mediation links are variables such as the influence of significant "others," including parents, on the aspirations of children, specifically sons (Grebler et al., 1970; Haller and Portes, 1973; Laosa, 1982; Marjoribanks, 1979; Sewell et al., 1969; Sewell et al., 1970; Sewell and Hauser, 1975; Sewell and Shah, 1968).

The principal criticism of status attainment models is that they, like deficit models, focus on individual characteristics and avoid institutional or social analysis. For instance, in 1968 Duncan found that the rewards Blacks received for any level of educational or occupational accomplishment were lower than those for Whites, although other researchers have since concluded that these Black/White differences are caused by racial discrimination (Kerckhoff, 1976).

Moreover, status attainment models do not examine the effects of such school factors as ability grouping, tracking, or differential allocation of educational resources on the educational performance of minority students. As a consequence, these models lend themselves more to predicting attainment of upper status Whites than of Blacks and lower status Whites. It can also be concluded that they are unreliable predictors for Latinos.

Coleman (1966) and Jencks (1972) used status attainment research to reveal that schools had little effect on the educational and occupational attainment of minority students. Their research generally argued that family background had a greater effect on the child's future than did school experience.

Generally, status attainment research has had the effect of shifting responsibility for educational achievement and attainment away from schools and onto individual families and students. It contributes to the view that schools do not make a difference and, ultimately, acts as a deficit model again.

Let me talk briefly about two other models and conclude by talking about effective schools. First, social reproduction models start from the premise that industrial societies like the United States call for a hierarchically structured work force to provide goods and services. This work force needs to be reproduced from one generation to the next, and, intentionally or not, society's agents of socialization (schools, media, and families) replicate, reinforce, and legitimize this hierarchical relationship by socializing young people to take and accept their place within it.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) use the "correspondence principle" to explain the relationship between school and the work place. This principle posits that the hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms and skills characterizing the U.S. work place are mirrored in or correspond to the social dynamics of classrooms.

In other words, schools function to inculcate students with the attitudes and behaviors necessary to accept and function in predetermined social and economic roles (Anyon, 1979, 1980), whether the socialization occurs directly through classroom relations and materials or through what is called the hidden curriculum.

The primary focus of the social reproduction model is on institutions, instead of individuals or groups, as the locus of variations in educational inequality. However, social reproduction theory is fundamentally pessimistic, offering little hope for changing inequalities short of massive social change.

Cultural reproduction models are said to begin where social reproduction models leave off. They are similar in that they are concerned with how industrial societies are able to reproduce themselves. Cultural reproduction models, however, focus on questions of how school culture is produced, selected, legitimized, and transferred, and how that culture helps to reproduce societies and their inherent class inequalities (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1983).

Bordieu and Passeron (1976) have argued that schools as institutions reproduce existing power relations by producing and distributing a dominant ethos that defines what it means to be educated. The dominant class confirms what is culturally valued linguistically. This dominant ideology is transmitted by schools to be actively incorporated by students, while the cultural and linguistic characteristics of subordinate groups are devalued or ignored.

Schools, therefore, have an important role in class and cultural reproduction. By appearing to be impartial and neutral transmitters of the benefits of a valued culture, they are able to promote educational inequality in the name of fairness and objectivity.

In summary, in order to explain educational inequality, deficit theories focus on individual shortcomings or racial, class, or gender characteristics. Reproduction theories conceptualize schools in terms of an input/output black box, emphasizing how structural determinants promote economic and cultural inequality and how this inequality is transmitted from generation to generation.

Neither of these two types of theories focuses on the internal workings or the day-to-day operations of a school. Resistance theories, on the other hand, by integrating critical social theory with ethnographic methodology, try to eliminate the dynamics of accommodation and increase the resistance of individuals and groups, both inside and outside schools. They argue that social and cultural reproduction is never total and always faces opposition.

Oppositional behavior, or resistance, can take on either a reactionary or a progressive mode. Resistance models promote discourse that rejects traditional explanations for school failure and oppositional behavior and are oriented towards individual or group empowerment. These models offer valuable alternatives to the reproductive models of schooling which find it impossible to challenge or modify the existing situation.

Resistance theorists argue that schools can act as either dominating or liberating institutions (Giroux, 1986; Willis, 1977). When schools dominate, they consciously or not prepare students for the roles in society that people of their kind have historically occupied. As a liberating force, schools, again consciously or not, can prepare students to break those patterns of dominance and empower students to take on new roles (Freire, 1973).

This leads us to school effectiveness models, which counter the deficit model by critically analyzing school processes and structures while simultaneously challenging the pessimism of the reproduction model. Current research in school effectiveness indicates that implementation of this perspective has the potential to be a liberating, empowering force for minority and all poor people in this country.

Effective schools research argues that the academic achievement of children is mainly a function of social and cultural characteristics of the school social system (Brookover et al., 1979).

Effective schools are those sites where essentially all the students acquire requisite skills and develop necessary behaviors within the school, despite family background (Brookover et al., 1980). Many of the effective school models use Bloom's (1976) mastery learning concept, which starts from the assumption that any person can learn if supplied with appropriate prior and current conditions. These "appropriate conditions for learning" are identified as an effective school learning climate, that is, the attitudes, values, and internal life of the school. This school culture has a major effect on the achievement of students.

Although research has identified a number of different elements that make up effective schools, there is a profile of school-related variables that differentiate effective from ineffective schools.

Specifically, Ronald Edmonds (1979, 1982, 1984), reviewing the research on effective urban minority schools, listed five factors as "the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools":

1. Strong administrative leadership

2. High expectations for student learning

3. Orderly school and classroom environment

4. Placing basic skills (e.g., reading and math) acquisition above other goals

5. Frequent monitoring of student progress

Effective schools research counters the deficit model by shifting educational responsibility from students, their families, and their culture to the schools. It can also challenge reproduction models by giving disenfranchised groups hope for their children; we can point to educationally effective schools in poor and minority communities.

School improvement research can also empower teachers, as it is a dynamic perspective, showing them that they can truly make a difference in the educational lives of their students.

In conclusion, Latinos constitute the youngest and fastest growing population group in the United States (not counting the recent blip caused by Indo-Chinese refugees) and are quickly becoming the majority of the school-aged population in many high development and economic growth areas of the nation. As a related demographic phenomenon, as the general population ages, the "dependency ratio" of nonworkers to workers is also shifting and will increasingly reflect the productivity of Hispanic employment.

In short, the future prosperity of major sections of our country will be affected by the status of the Hispanic population. Given the importance of education to employment and of employment to the national economy, we may have less than a decade to alter our course sufficiently to avoid the serious negative consequences of truncated educational achievement among Latinos.

Efforts needed for improving the situation may dwarf the recent education reform movement. There must be a fiscal commitment reaffirmed annually in local, state, and federal appropriations. There must be legislative guarantees for the provision of educational services reasonably calculated to result in high school graduation for all at risk students.

We need to push hard for solutions to this crisis. The pendulum has to be swung back to where problems of poverty, compensatory education, and equitable treatment for all young people will form a major part of the educational reform agenda.

References

Anyon, J. (1979). "Ideology and United States history textbooks." Harvard Educational Review, 49:361-386.

Anyon, J. (1980). "Social class and the hidden curriculum of work." Journal of Education, 162:67-92.

Aronowitz, S. and H. Giroux. (1985). Education Under Siege: The Conservative, Liberal, and Radical Debate Over Schooling. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey, Publishers, Inc.

Baron, R., D. Tom, and H. Cooper. (1985). "Social class, race and teacher expectations." In J. B. Duseky, Ed., Teacher Expectancies. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Blau, P. and O. Duncan. (1979). The American Occupational Structure. New York: Wiley.

Bloom, B. (1976). Human Characteristics and School Learning. New York: McGraw Hill.

Bourdieu, P. and J. Passeron. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.

Bowles, S. and H. Gintis. (1976). *Schooling in Capitalist America*. New York: Basic Books.

Brookover, W. et al. (1979). *School Social Systems and Student Achievement: Schools Can Make a Difference.* New York: Praeger.

Brookover, W. et al. (1980). *Creating Effective Schools: An In-Service Program for Enhancing School Learning Climate and Achievement*. Holmes Beach, Fl.: Learning Publications, Inc.

Brown, P. and K. Haycock. (1984). *Education For Whom*. Oakland, Ca.: The Achievement Council.

Coleman, J. et al. (1966). *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Crowley, J. E. and D. Shapiro. (1982). "Aspirations and expectations of youth in the United States, part 1: Education and Fertility." *Youth and Society*, 13:391-422.

Edmonds, R. (1979). "Effective schools for the urban poor." *Social Policy*, 15:37-39.

Edmonds, R. (1982). "On school improvement: A conversation with Ronald Edmonds." *Educational Leadership*, 40:13-15.

Edmonds, R. (1984). "School effects and teacher effects." *Social Policy*, 15:37-39.

Espinoza, R. W. (1986). "Myths: Educational myths regarding education as the great equalizer." An unpublished manuscript prepared for The Tomas Rivera Center for Policy Studies.

Espinoza, R. W. and A. Ochoa. (1986). "Concentration of California Hispanic students in schools with low achievement: A research note." *American Journal of Education*, 65:77-95.

Freire, P. (1973). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press.

Giroux, H. (1983). *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition*. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey. Haller, H. O. and A. Portes. (1973). "Status attainment processes." *Sociology of Education*, 46:51-91.

Jencks, C. et al. (1972). *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*. New York: Basic Books.

Kerckhoff, A. (1976). "The status attainment process: Socialization or allocation." *Social Forces*, 55:368-381.

Laosa, L. (1982). "School, occupation, culture, and family: The impact of parental schooling on the parent-child relationship." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 74:791-827.

Marjoribanks, K. (1977). *Ethnic Families and Children's Achievements*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

National Science Foundation. (1986). *Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering*. Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation.

Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Orum, L. S. (1986). *The Education of Hispanics: Status and Implications*. Washington, D.C.: National Council of La Raza.

Percell, C. (1977). *Education and Inequality: The Roots and Results of Stratification in America's Schools*. New York: Free Press.
Sanchez, A. and D. Cardoza. (1984).

Sanchez, A. and D. Cardoza. (1984). "Educational aspirations of Hispanic parents: Some findings from the High School and Beyond Survey." An unpublished manuscript from the National Center for Bilingual Education, Los Alamitos, California.

Sewell, W. H., A. O. Haller, and G. W. Ohlendorf. (1970). "The educational and early occupational status attainment process: Replication and revision." American Sociological Review, 35:1014-1027.

Sewell, W. H., A. O. Haller, and A. Portes. (1969). "The educational and early occupational attainment process." American Sociological Review, 34:82-92.

Sewell, W. H. and V. P. Shah. (1968). "Social class, parental encouragement, and educational aspirations." American Journal of Sociology, 73:559-572.

Solarano, R. (1987). "School and student components and their relationship to Hispanic fifth grade achievement." An unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. (1972). "Education in Texas: A Function of wealth." Report IV: Mexican American Education Study. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. (1973). "Teachers and students: Differences in teacher interaction with Mexican American and Anglo students." Report V: Mexican American Education Study. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Willis, P. (1977). Learning to Labor. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath.

DR. PACHON: Our third panelist is Thomas Gabe. Mr. Gabe is a specialist in social legislation in the Education and Public Welfare Division of the Congressional Research Service. During the past seven years Mr. Gabe has conducted research on a variety of issues for Congress, including studies on income and poverty. He was one of the primary authors of the CRS publication "Hispanic Children in Poverty," which I recommend highly to all of you who are interested in this issue. He holds a Master's degree in social work from Washington University.

MR. GABE: First, I'd like to thank NALEO for offering me the privilege of speaking to you this morning. I will be talking today about Hispanic children and poverty, comparing the poverty of Hispanic children to that of their non-Hispanic White and Black counterparts and discussing some of the factors that may account for the differing rates. Much of what I will say comes from a report that the Congressional Research Service did in Fall, 1985. Where possible, I have added updated information.

The most recently available statistics show that in 1985 two and one-half million Hispanic children in the United States lived in families whose income fell short of the official poverty threshold. That year a family of four would have been considered poor if its total annual income was below $11,200. This includes income from work or relatives, Social Security and cash welfare benefits such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and income from other sources.

Disturbingly, the incidence of poverty among Hispanic children is twice that of all children in the United States. And whereas Hispanic children account for 10 percent of all children in the country, they represent 20 percent, or one-fifth, of all poor children.

This first figure (Chart 1) shows poverty rates among Hispanic, White and non-Hispanic Black children. You can see that in 1985 the poverty rate for Hispanic children was nearly 40 percent, about three times that of White non-Hispanic and about equal to that of the Black non-Hispanic.

As we'll see, in spite of the somewhat similar levels of poverty of Hispanic and Black children, the associated factors are quite different. However, before discussing these, let's look at the time trend in child poverty.

Chart 2 shows the trend in the incidence of poverty from 1973 to 1985. You'll note that throughout this period the Hispanic child poverty rate has been substantially above that of all children taken as a group. Also note that in 1975 the poverty rates for both Hispanic and all children increased as a result of the recession and then dropped once again. In 1980, poverty rates began to increase. Beginning in about 1983, the poverty rate for all children began to decrease while it continued to increase among Hispanic children.

I caution you not to look so much at year-to-year changes due to some technical differences in the survey. We look forward to the statistics coming out this fall for 1986. They should give us a better sense of the actual trends for Hispanics and all children.

Also, it's very important to note that currently the Hispanic child poverty rate is the highest that it has ever been. It is standing at about 40 percent, compared to about 27 percent in 1973.

When you look at the figures from a public policy perspective, there might be two goals to focus on: to reduce future poverty of all children and to close the gap among different ethnic groups.

Not only are federal policies important in addressing the issues of child poverty, but so, too, are state policies. The problem differs state by state, as can be seen when we look at Hispanic child poverty rates.

Census data for 1979, the most recent available, show that about two-thirds of all Hispanic children live in three states: California, Texas, and New York. In comparison, fewer than one-fifth of all non-Hispanic poor children live in these three states, which are also the three most populated states in the nation.

The poverty rates of Hispanic children in these three states differ markedly. In California, the Hispanic child poverty rate of about 23 percent was below the U.S. average of 29% in 1979, but in both Texas and New York, Hispanic child poverty rates were above average, about 33 percent of Hispanic children in these states.

Chart 3 shows that the Hispanic child poverty rate differs by subgroup. The poverty rate for Puerto Rican children is the highest, with nearly 60 percent of the children in Puerto Rican families living in poverty. Next is the total Hispanic child poverty rate. Then in descending order are Mexican-American children with about 37 percent being poor, other Hispanic children at about 35 percent, and Cuban children at about 20 percent, which is about equal to the total child poverty rate in the nation but still almost twice that of the White non-Hispanic child poverty rate.

A number of important differences may be masked when we look at the overall poverty rates for these groups. Poverty among Hispanic children differs in a number of ways from that of non-Hispanic White and non-Hispanic Black children. In our report to Congress, we examined these differences, though our list is not exhaustive.

The first factor on the list, family

CHART 1

Poverty Rates of Children
by Race and Ethnicity: 1985

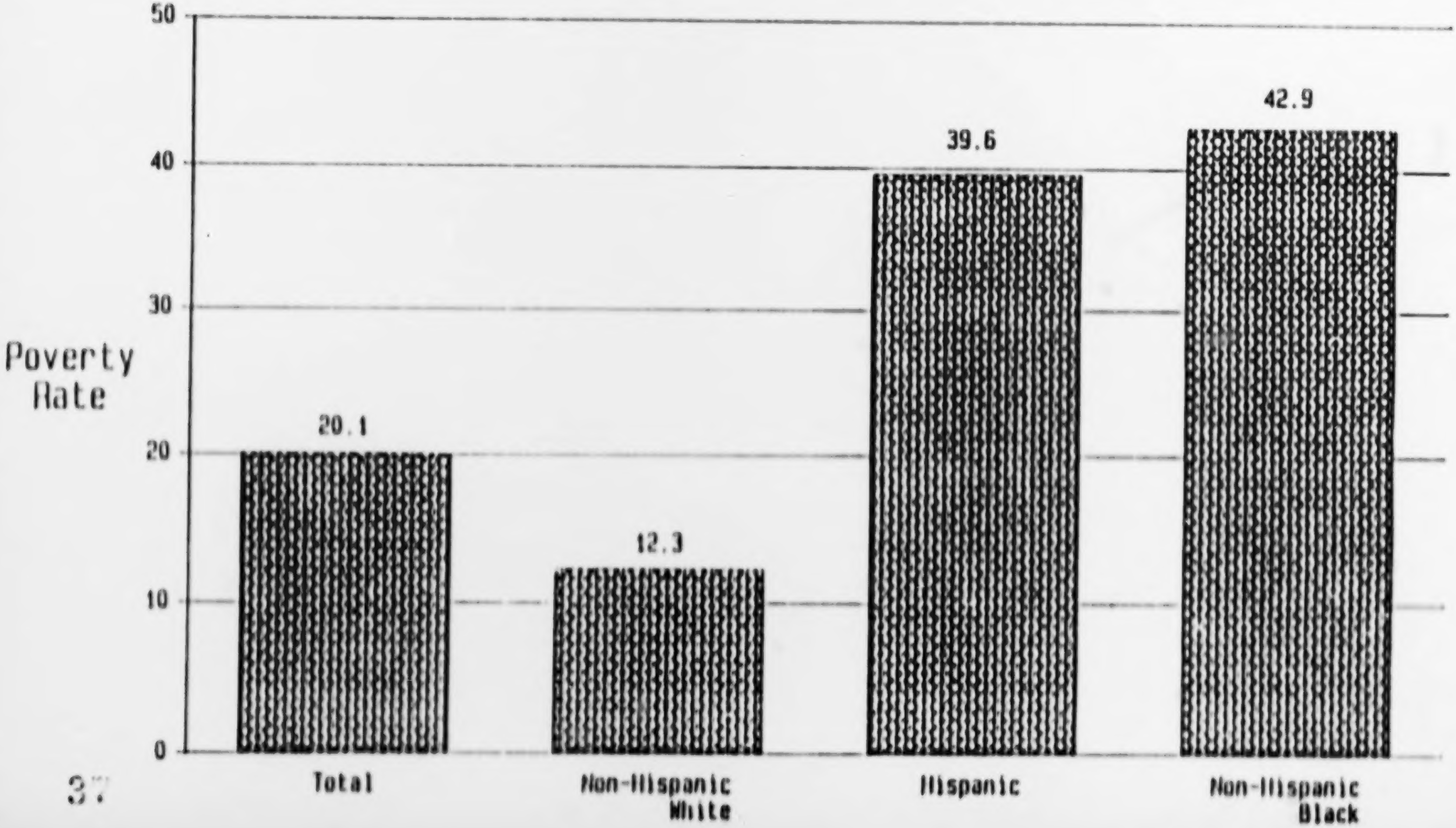


CHART 2

Poverty Rates of Hispanic Children and All Children: 1973 to 1985

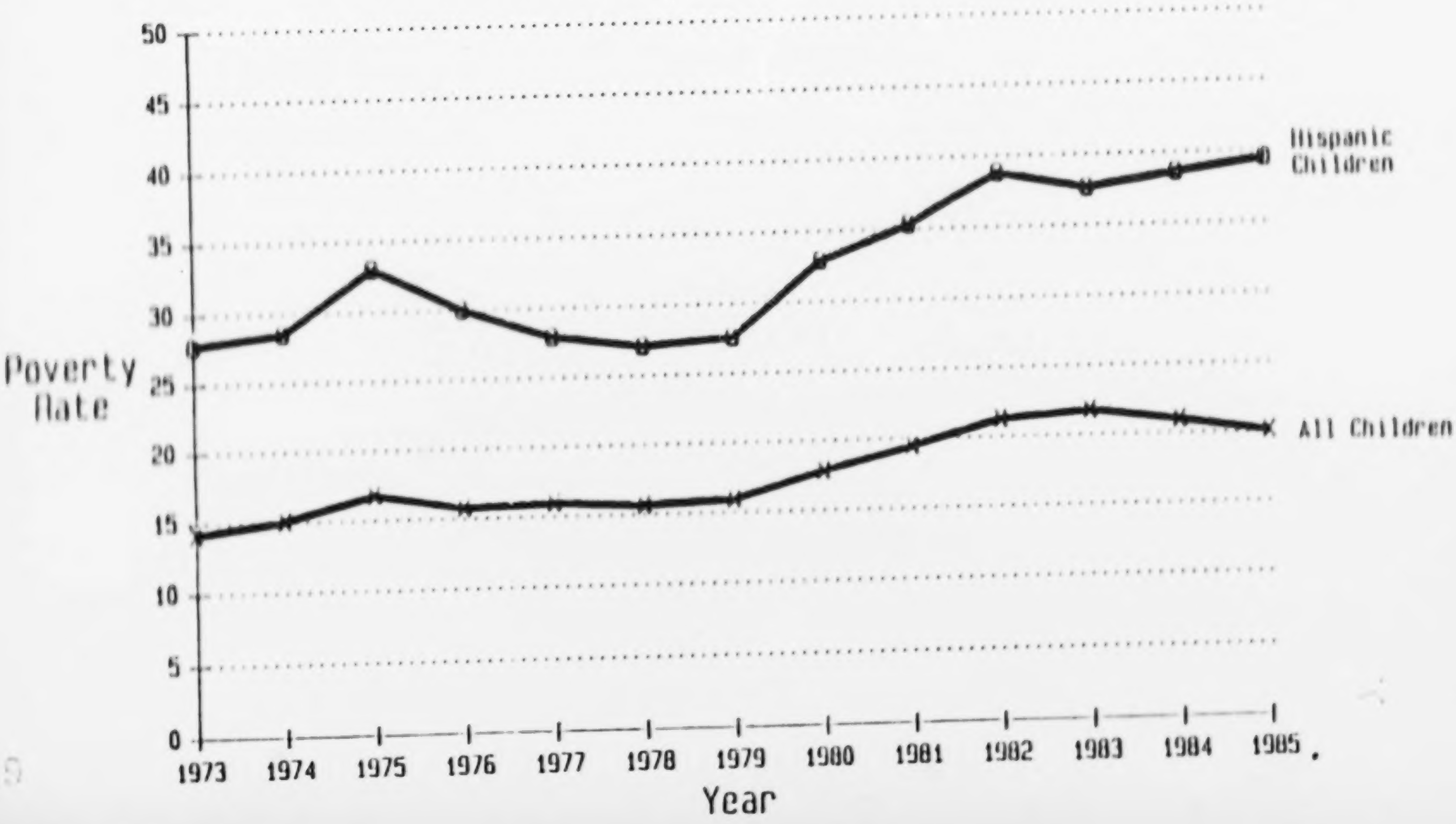
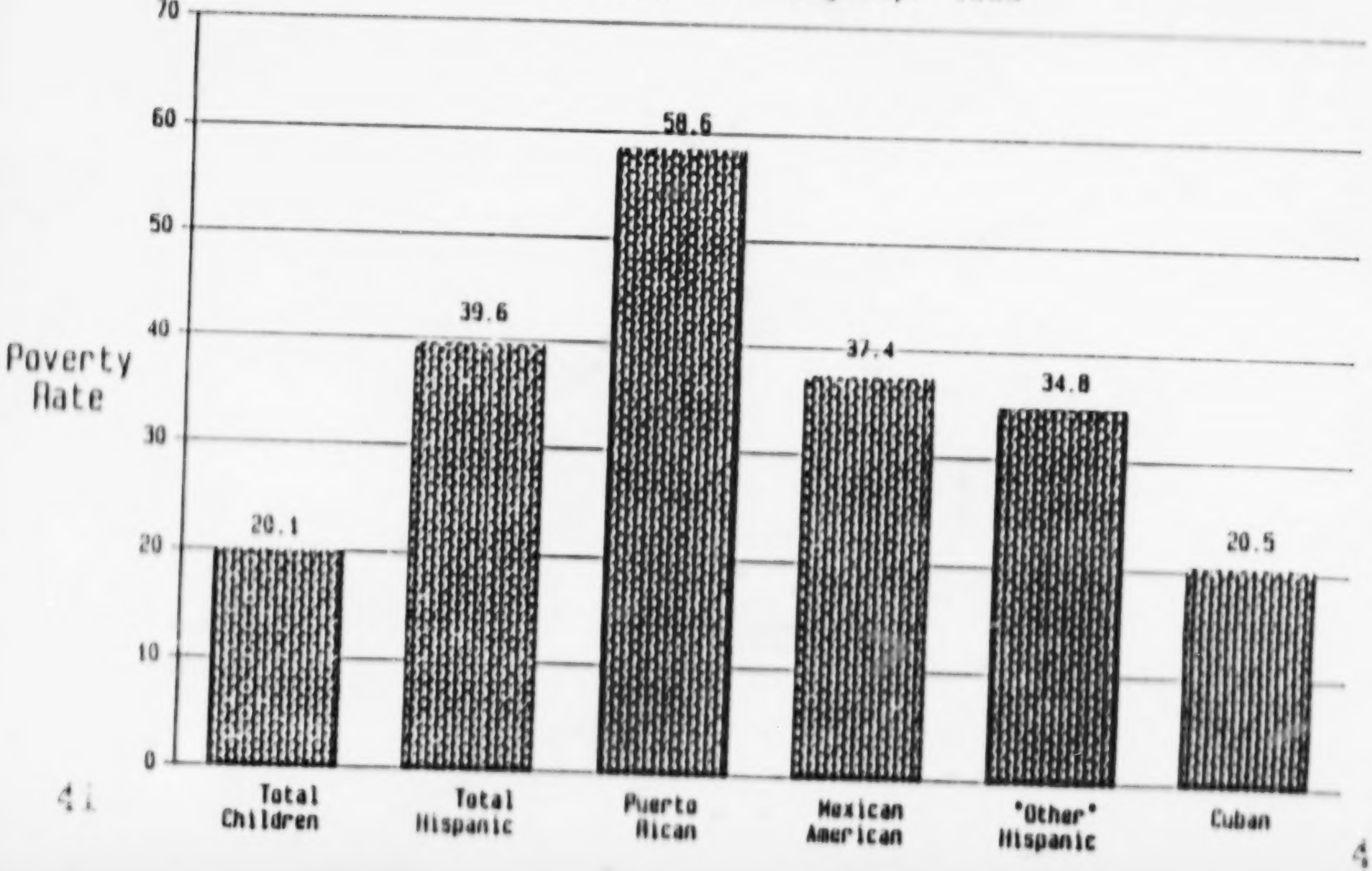


CHART 1

Poverty Rates Among Children By Hispanic Subgroup: 1985



type, refers to whether the child lives in a female-headed or a male-headed household. This is important in accounting for child poverty. We know, for example, that children who live in single parent, female-headed families will more likely be poor than children who live with both parents. Children with both parents present are more likely to have a parent, usually the father, who is working. In addition, since men's earnings are often greater than women's, children living with the father are less likely to be poor.

Also, the poverty profile of children who live in male-present families tends to fluctuate more with cycles in the economy than does that of children who live in female-headed families since men generally have greater attachment to the labor force than women.

In Chart 4, the figure at the far left shows total child poverty rates. Children in male-present families are in the middle, and single female-headed families on the far right. The categories are subdivided by ethnic identification.

If you notice the middle set of columns, the poverty rate for Hispanic children is substantially higher than that for White children who are in male-present families, about three to three and a half times higher. It is also higher than for Black children.

In the far right hand column you notice that the Hispanic child poverty rate again is highest within the single female-headed type family, with over 70 percent of children in such families being poor. About two-thirds of Black children in such families are poor, and almost 40 percent of White children in such families are poor.

Hispanic child poverty rates in the aggregate are lower than those for Black children, but when we compare by family type, they are higher in each type. The next chart will give us some indication as to why.

Chart 5 shows the percentage of children living in each type of family. Notice that about 13 percent of White non-Hispanic children live in single female-headed families. Slightly over a quarter of Hispanic children live in such families. At the bottom of the chart are Black non-Hispanic children, of whom over half live in single female-headed families. This type of family is extremely prone to poverty.

When you look at child poverty rates in the aggregate, part of the reason why the Hispanic rate is lower is because fewer Hispanic children are living in these poverty prone female-headed families.

A second factor relating to child poverty is family size. The size of family in which a child lives is important since large families, having more mouths to feed, are more likely to be poor. Hispanic children are substantially more likely to live in large families than are poor White or Black children. In 1983, 42 percent of poor Hispanic children lived in families with four or more children, compared to 35 percent of White children and 23 percent of Black children.

A third factor mentioned is a child's parents' age. It is important since younger parents' earnings generally tend to be less than the earnings of older parents, and younger parents are generally not as securely established in a job as are older parents.

Younger parents are also more likely to have larger completed family sizes than persons who become first time parents at older ages. Parents who are very young may be at a disadvantage as well because they have to postpone or forego additional education due to the demands of

CHART 4

Child Poverty Rates
By Family Type and Race/Ethnicity: 1985

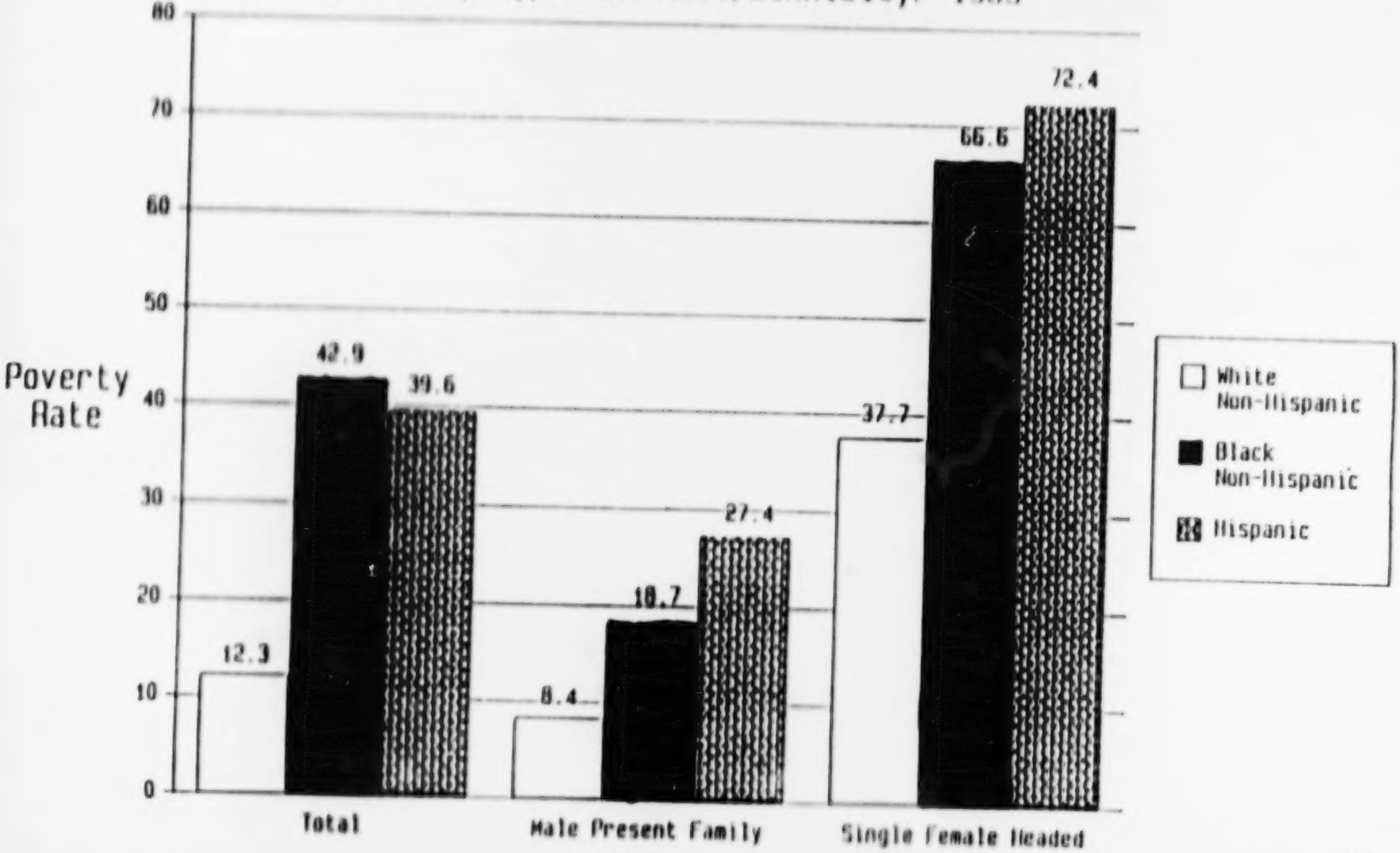
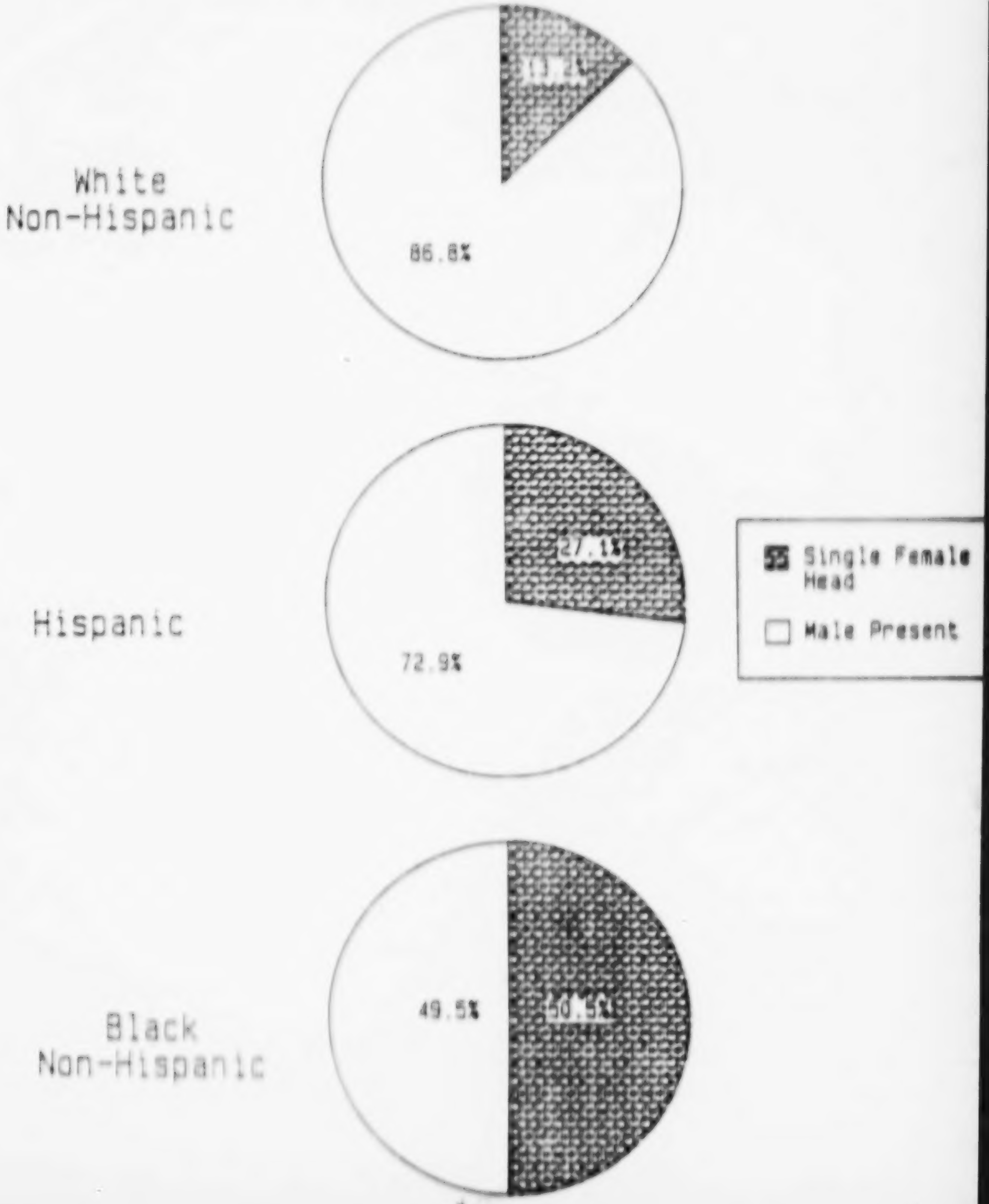


CHART 3

Percent of Children In Male Present and Single Female Headed Families by Race and Ethnicity: 1985



supporting and/or caring for children.

Chart 6 shows the incidence of child poverty based on whether the child lives in a married couple family, the two groups of bars on the left, or in a female-headed family, to the right, and by whether the child's parent is under or over the age of 30 within each grouping.

Once again, we see that within each one of these groupings, the Hispanic child poverty rates are higher than for Blacks or Whites. Also, notice that the poverty rates do diminish somewhat among children who have older parents. However, the change is generally greater for White children who have older parents than for Hispanic and Black children who have older parents within each type of family setting.

Also, notice the third set of columns from the left, the female head under age 30. The incidence of poverty among Hispanic children in this type of family is extremely high. Nearly 90 percent of children in families where the father is not present and the mother is under the age of 30 are poor.

We should also consider that, whereas nearly one in five Black children live in these younger female-headed families, only one in 15 Hispanic children live in such families, and only about one in 30 non-Hispanic children live in this poverty-prone group.

The fourth factor listed in Chart 7 is parents' education. It is an important factor in understanding child poverty because education is the key that opens the door to opportunity. More and more employers are requiring that entry level workers have at least a high school diploma and that they bring basic reading, writing, and math skills to the job. Children of parents who have not completed high school are more likely to be poor than those whose parents have completed high school, and similarly, children with parents who have only completed high school are more likely to be poor than if they have a parent who has attended college.

I think the information Dr. Madrid presented, the evidence that Hispanic children have such high educational aspirations, is very encouraging.

Chart 8 shows the poverty rates for children according to the kind of household in which they live. Now here there are some differences from what we had seen in prior charts. For Hispanic children, the poverty rates seem to be somewhat less than those of Black children in families at equal levels of education, the exception being for children whose parents have completed some college. The poverty rates for Hispanic children are higher than those of White children. It's uncertain whether that difference is just a statistical aberration or whether there's a true difference, but the one thing you can clearly see is that the poverty status of children declines dramatically with increasing levels of education.

For Hispanic children whose father has not completed high school, nearly 40 percent are poor. If the father has completed college, about nine percent are poor.

A troubling fact is that in 1981 over one-third of Hispanic young people ages 18 and 19 were high school dropouts. The Hispanic child dropout rate is nearly twice that of Blacks of the same age and two and a quarter times that of Whites. Clearly, the low rate of high school completion among Hispanic youth has an effect upon their poverty status, and the presently high school dropout rates of Hispanics do not bode well for the reduction of poverty in the future.

In Chart 9 a number of these factors are put together to show the

CHART 6

Child Poverty Rates in Married Couple and Single Female Headed Families by Age of Parent and Race/Ethnicity: 1983

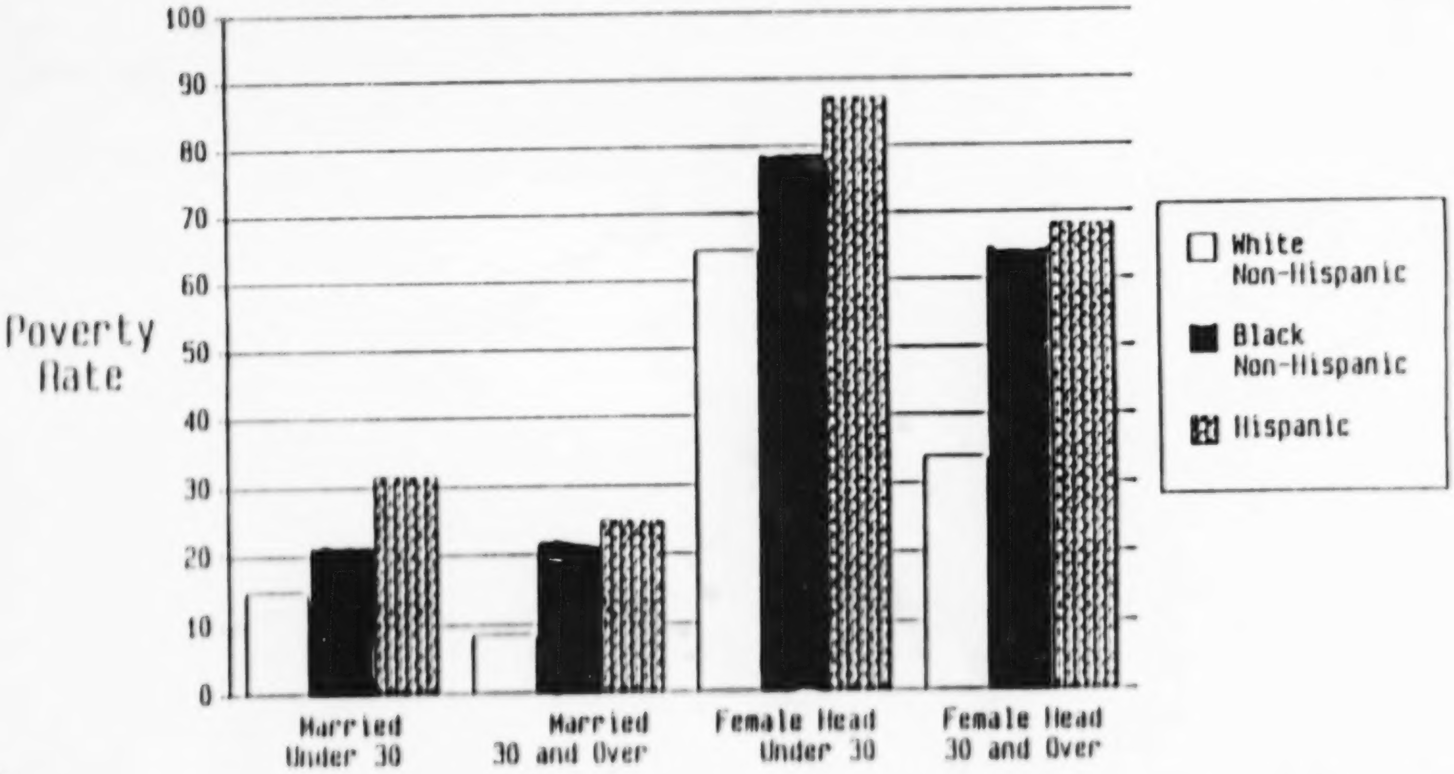


CHART 7

Poverty Rates Among Children in Married Couple Families by Father's Educational Status and Race/Ethnicity: 1983

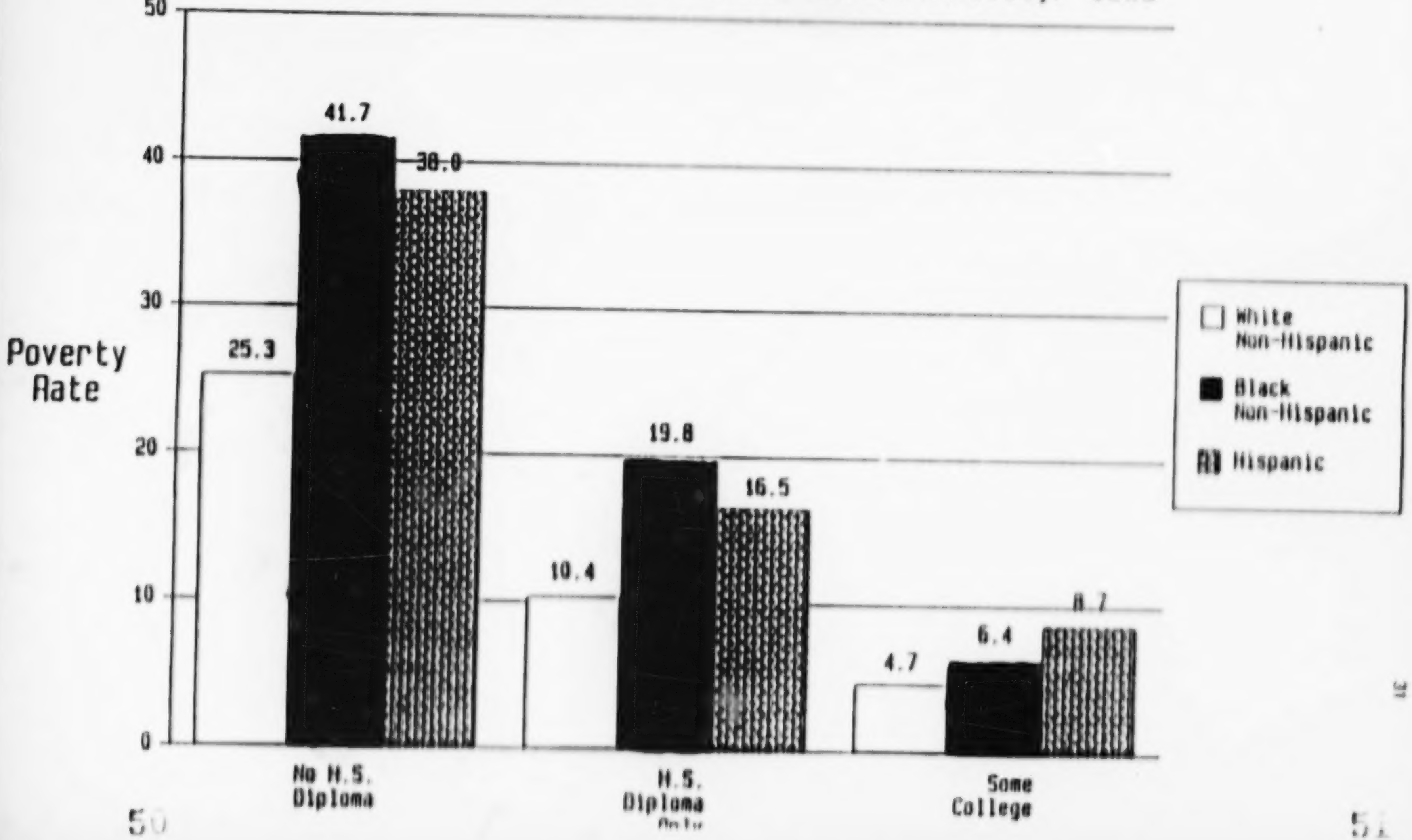
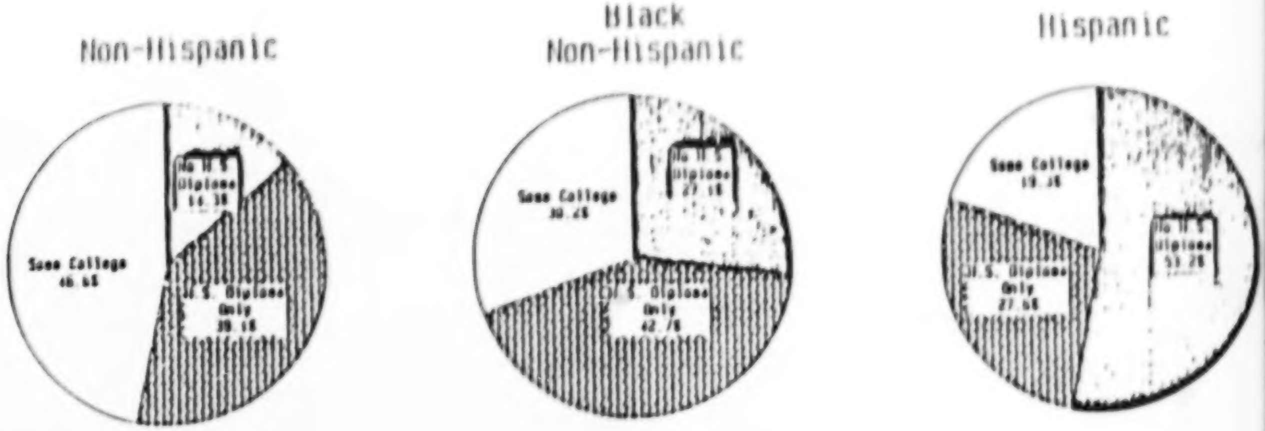


CHART 8

Educational Status of Childrens' Parents by Race/Ethnicity and Family Type: 1983

Male Present Families--Father s Education



Single Female Headed Families--Mother's Education

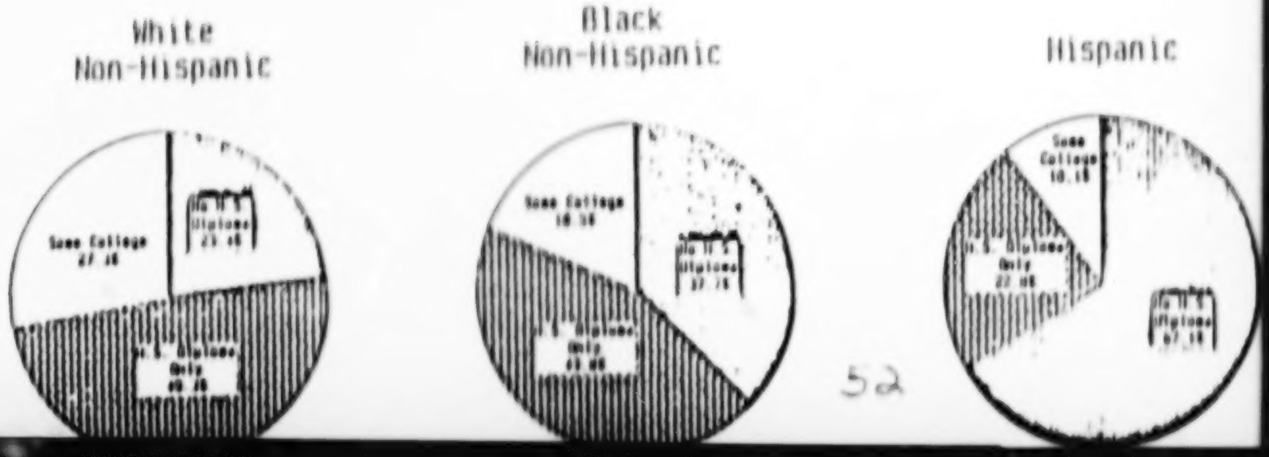
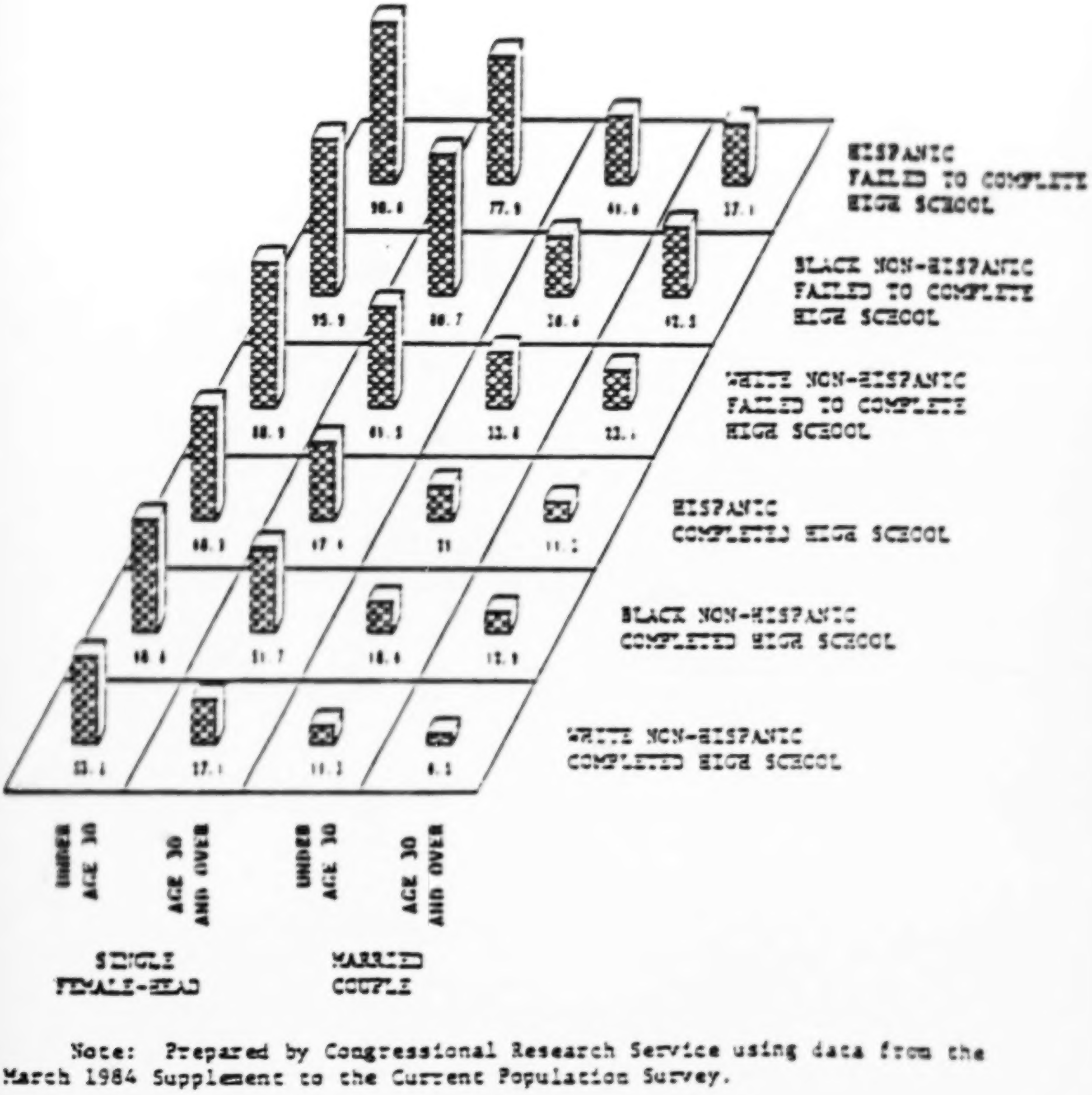


CHART 9

POVERTY RATES AMONG CHILDREN: 1983
BY FAMILY TYPE, HEAD'S AGE, RACE/ETHNICITY, AND EDUCATION



Note: Prepared by Congressional Research Service using data from the March 1984 Supplement to the Current Population Survey.

different elements relating to child poverty. It depicts, in terms of male-present and female-headed families, the percentage of parents who have completed different levels of education. Along the bottom of this chart are the groupings of single female-headed family and married couple family by age, under or over 30. Along the side of the chart are listed categories of race/ethnicity, and head of household high school completion rates.

At the far right are Hispanic children. We can see that about 50 percent of their fathers have not completed high school compared to about 27 percent for Black children and about 14 percent for White.

Among children in single female-headed families, nearly two-thirds of the Hispanic children have mothers who have not completed high school versus slightly over a third for Black children and slightly over a quarter for White non-Hispanic children.

In the upper left-hand cell of this chart, you can see that Hispanic children whose mother failed to complete high school and is under the age of 30, and whose father is not in the home, are almost certain to be poor. About 98 percent of those children are poor. If we look at the best circumstances for Hispanic children, in the third row from the bottom and the fourth column over, the fourth cell, we can see that about 11 percent of Hispanic children are poor where they live in a married couple family with a father over the age of 30 who has completed high school. While this is the lowest rate, it is still about twice that of White non-Hispanic children who are in similar circumstances based on these variables.

In these charts we have considered only some of the variables accounting for differences among Hispanic, Black and White child poverty rates. The remaining differences must be due to other factors which need further discussion.

Audience Discussion and Panel Response

DR. PACHON: Thank you, Tom. Questions for the panelists will now be entertained.

ANGELO FALCON, Puerto Rican Coalition: I have a couple of comments. One, I find that I have to defend my mother when you people talk about single-women headed households. Terms like "poverty prone," "female heads of family" have to be clarified because otherwise descriptions of poverty will be seen as the cause.

My mother raised me alone, and she didn't do such a bad job, so I have to rise to her defense here. There are a lot of us who came out of female-headed households who are doing fine. We need to talk about that more in this kind of presentation. It is important to understand that the role of the woman has changed, and that the support system isn't there.

Secondly, I wanted to say that Mr. Gabe and Dr. Tienda raised important issues about disaggregating the Hispanic community and looking at differences. I think it is a community that has become more and more diversified so that global analyses of Hispanics are less and less useful. I think that's also an important point to stress.

I want to ask two questions. One has to do with the fact that we always seem to focus on the negative. I was wondering if research ever focuses on factors which result in educational achievement or people being able to keep jobs, the other side of the coin. I find very little discussion of those positive responses in terms of resources, of how people are able to survive in our communities and achieve and get out of poverty.

The other one has to do with the question of race. In the 1980 census people were identified not only as Hispanic or Puerto Rican, but also as Black or White. I was wondering if any research has been done along the racial dimension within the Latino community in terms of Black Latinos versus White Latinos and, what's the other one, Other Latinos. I haven't seen much done in that area.

DR. TIENDA: I would like to comment on the issue of female head of family as it relates to poverty. Although there is no research on the Hispanic population per se, there's limited research on the importance of female headship as a vehicle for intergenerational transmission.

The studies are very clear that it is not female headship, per se, but the material deprivation associated with it that is the aberration or the problem. The research on intergenerational transmission processes responsible for syndromes of persisting poverty and the underclass indicates that it is limited economic conditions, not the absence of the father, which are accountable for the negative consequences of female headship.

I fully agree with you that your mother did a good job.

The second thing, on the positive aspects of Hispanic resourcefulness, I think we do have to ask how we have been so resilient. We must look at the experience of the Black population, given the extreme disadvantages they initially faced, as well as at the survival, against odds, of recent immigrant populations. There is some work that shows that Hispanic populations would probably be poorer if they didn't engage in some very creative strategies to survive in the United States. Among those are extended living arrangements which facilitate the ability of the family to endure when the labor market begins to crash. The research on illegal immigration is very instructive in showing the kind of resourcefulness that families employ in order to make it in society.

But we reach the limits of such strategies very quickly. Where there are no jobs to be had, this multiple earner strategy, which seems to be more effective as a hedge against poverty than income transfers, falls on its head. Though we do have a lot to be grateful for about our resilience and our ability to develop enterprising responses of this kind, until jobs are created and the circumstances of our schools changed, the cycle of disadvantage will be perpetuated.

DR. MADRID: I sympathize absolutely with your initial observation. For me the first point you mention has been a constant frustration. There is always tension between specifically defining communities within the Spanish community or lumping them together. In part generalizing is imposed on us. In fact, a couple of funding agencies, whose names I shall not mention, asked me several years ago when I requested money to underwrite the work of the National Chicano Commission for Higher Education, "Why don't you call yourself the National Hispanic Commission for Higher Education?" There's this insistence on considering all the subgroups together, and I don't know how we are going to resolve that. But I agree with you wholeheartedly that the global reality does not speak to the specific conditions.

On the point of positive research, we at the Center have done some work and will continue to do more on the whole question of aspirations versus expectations. That is, the aspirations of the groups in our community, whether Puerto Ricans or Mexicanos or Central Americanos, are very, very high. But the expectations are very low, which has to do with signals being given, principally by institutions, to kids and their parents. Somehow we need to turn that around.

The Tomas Rivera Center will soon be issuing a volume on the educational experiences of Hispanic American women. We are taking hold of the issue of support for the education of women in our community. Conventional wisdom holds that there is none; yet if you look at the reality, in higher education certainly women are enrolling in and completing school at a much higher rate than are men. So something is going on that needs to be looked at.

A great number of school effectiveness studies are in process right now. The results should be coming out soon as a consequence of the Ford Foundation's emphasis on school effectiveness for minority students. We at the Center are looking at career trajectories, why some people are doing particularly well, to see what we might be able to discern from their experiences that would have policy implications.

MR. GABE: I'd like to make a couple of comments. The first question concerned the female headship issue, and I would like to emphasize that I'm not saying that female headship is the cause of child poverty but is a factor associated with child poverty. I think we have to look beyond this correlation to influences resulting in female headship and some of the factors associated with it.

We know that there is a difference in income potential between families in which there are two earners and families where there is only one earner. In the single-headed household, the strain of child rearing is more obvious. There are just more constraints on the single, female-headed family than on a married couple family.

Also, we have to look at differences in women's versus men's earnings and the types of occupations in which men and women are working.

Another area of focus is absent fathers, and it's very difficult to get good information on where the fathers of these children are. There are social surveys and the like, but it's hard to organize and interpret them.

Some research is looking at Black female-headed families, trying to predict the earnings potential of absent fathers in regards to providing family support. The focus is Black male earning potential and its comparison with White males'.

On the other comment, about looking at subgroups of Hispanics, I think there are a lot of interesting questions that can be raised, but there is a paucity of data when you try to study them. With the standard sorts of surveys, oftentimes sampling sizes aren't large enough to be able to parse the data out, to look at all the individual subgroups. You may pose some interesting questions and find that you don't have any data in the cells you are trying to examine.

Hopefully we'll have better sampling and larger samples on some of these surveys so we can get more detailed information in the future.

RUDY GARCIA, Noticias del Mundo: Dr. Tienda, in regard to the link between poverty and the labor market, and the Puerto Rican experience in terms of poverty: Have your studies focused on the concentration of the Puerto Rican population primarily in the Northeast and the loss of manufacturing and entry level jobs, with the switch-over to lower paying, service jobs? Have you looked at that in terms of the future?

DR. TIENDA: I've done two papers on the relationship between ethnic density or population distribution, and employment prospects, unemployment prospects, and earnings possibilities for groups. We have found that the different national origin groups have different relationship patterns and different benefits of concentration and dispersion.

Cubans have become more concentrated over time which has been advantageous to them. More importantly, it hasn't been disadvantageous. Their migration, at least their concentration and the setting up of ethnic queues for hiring, have worked well for them, but they're also going to a place where the Cuban community is organized as an enclave and has the economic and political muscle to protect Cuban entrants.

If there are ethnic queues that type certain jobs as Mexican jobs, like agriculture, or Puerto Rican jobs, like the garment industry, low skilled jobs, then that kind of typing--where you hire workers on the basis of their color or their national origin--will have especially pronounced disadvantageous consequences for these workers in the event of industrial restructuring away from the jobs in which they are concentrated.

The Puerto Ricans' experience is exactly the opposite of the Cubans'. They have experienced the movement of the low skilled jobs typed as Puerto-Rican away from the Northeast. For Puerto Ricans, persisting ethnic concentration, in spite of dispersal out of the New York City labor market, has continued to manifest itself disproportionately in terms of impoverization and low rates of employment.

Even though there is no clear relationship yet between types of jobs and declines in earnings and employment prospects, the aggregate evidence based on labor market differences does suggest that the Puerto Rican community has suffered.

What I think would be necessary to shed more light on this subject would be to compare several labor markets, New York/New Jersey, Chicago, and Los Angeles: New York and New Jersey because they are the area of traditional Puerto Rican concentration, Los Angeles because it's very heavily Mexican, but also now has the influx of Central Americans who are competing for many of the same kinds of jobs, and Chicago because it is the only labor market in the United States that has roughly equivalent proportions of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Then we would be able to look very closely, for the first time, at the significance of national origin above and beyond the skill requirements of jobs, holding constant the available opportunities in these three different labor markets. I think that's what we need to do in order to start refining our understanding of the significance of national origin in relation to why some groups get ahead, some lose ground, and some are able to hold their position.

BILL DIAZ, Ford Foundation: I really wanted to make a public policy comment and then ask a couple of questions. The comment is that I worry about the danger of focusing on Latino poverty because of getting into competition with the Black community over designating who is poor and, therefore, more deserving of public and private resources to alleviate the consequences of poverty. I think that would be a very big mistake.

It seems to me that as you think about current debates on poverty, social welfare reform, and work welfare, in large measure they are driven, in the press and in other places, by an image of poverty that is characterized by the notion of a Black underclass. That's troublesome. It seems to me that the more we look at Latino poverty and particularly the more we look at it in comparison to Black poverty, the more we move away from the question of blame. We stop asking what's wrong with Blacks that makes them poor, and instead we ask about the structural factors underlying poverty which have a severe impact in a number of communities.

I think it's important that in some way we begin to form bridges with Blacks and Black organizations. I was pleased to see Milt Morris here from the Joint Center for Political Studies and Julia Scott from the Children's Defense Council. I think our associating in these meetings is important politically, and I think it's the kind of strategy that will benefit both Blacks and Hispanics because it will move the debate away from blaming the victim to looking at more systemic issues.

The questions have to do with two considerations I think need to be addressed in the research, and I would like Marta to speak to them. One is a question about the impact of immigrant status on poverty rates, given that the Latino community is about one-third immigrant; and the second question concerns what we know about inter-generational issues in the Latino community, particularly about this one-third immigrant component moving from first generation to second and third generations.

DR. PACHON: I'd like to address that first issue. We in NALEO are very concerned about poverty not being a Black versus Brown issue because that's disastrous to both groups, but if you adopt a bi-racial perspective on poverty in the United States, then it is simply seen as a Black phenomenon, or non-White phenomenon. You end up overlooking the Hispanic population and, in a way, also minimizing the differences between White and Black Americans in the United States today, because White-Non-White comparisons usually put Hispanics with Whites, lowering all of the socio-economic indicators of the White population. What we have found at NALEO over the past five years is that when you factor out the Hispanic population in ethnic and racial comparisons, White versus Black differences increase significantly. So I hope that we as a community can be advanced enough to realize that we're not emphasizing Black *versus* Brown, but really bringing more sophisticated attention to the problem of poverty in the United States today.

DR. TIENDA: I would like to speak to the 1980s approach to disadvantage and racial/ethnic, inequality. In the 1960s and possibly into the 1970s, it was very important for groups to maintain their distinctiveness, to define their identity and their specific causes and issues. I think we've moved beyond that. In the '80s what we need to think about are rainbow coalitions.

I was very impressed to see the emergence of such a coalition at Stanford University. These are very highly selected students concerned with social issues. Their kind of activity, stressing the common experiences of the disadvantaged and the exclusion of all people of color, is very important. Perhaps these experiences vary in time and place and specific manifestations, but they have some common structural underpinnings which require solutions. The commonality is becoming more apparent in the comparative research that involves a disaggregation of Hispanics and inclusion of Native Americans, Blacks, and Asian minorities.

I think we also have some work to do on disaggregating the Asian population. Though there is a perception that Asians are the model minority, we find extreme disadvantage among certain segments of Asian communities. So that seems to be something to put on the agenda at forums--like this--to take place before the '90s.

On the issue of immigrant status, it's a very interesting issue that surprisingly has not received much attention except for a patchwork quilt of anecdotal evidence from specific immigrant groups. More attention has been paid to the issue of illegality than to the immigration experience overall.

I recently had the privilege of supervising a dissertation on immigration and poverty, and one of the surprising findings was that over time there has been an increase in the poverty rates of immigrant groups, so that this concern about negative selection does seem based on empirical evidence in the comparison of the 1960, '70, and '80 censuses.

However, we have to ask ourselves about those immigrants of the late 1940s and 1950s when we compare them to those who entered later. That earlier group was the first after World War II covered by the 1924 National Origins Act, which excluded certain nationalities and was very much designed to bring in people from Western Europe. It was an atypical group of immigrants, and its characteristics tend to confuse the issue about the extent to which immigration is disproportionately comprised of low skilled, disadvantaged, poverty stricken groups of people.

More important in the dissertation findings was the point that the increase in impoverization rates of recent immigrants is not due to Hispanics, but rather to Whites. That was the really striking finding because what we get from the popular media and from our patchwork quilt research is that it's immigrants from Central and South America, Laotians, and refugees in general who have special problems. That's not what the empirical evidence from the 1960, '70 and '80 censuses suggest.

That doesn't mean that Hispanic immigrants do not run a high risk of poverty. They do. What I think bodes ill for the future, if we think of it in terms of inter-generational processes, is the extent to which groups are concentrated or ghetto-ized precisely in those labor markets or urban contexts most vulnerable to industrial restructuring and decline of low skilled jobs. There are great risks of impoverization or limited economic mobility when you superimpose class and color on those objective structural circumstances.

I think in the long run there may be a close connection between immigration status and the poverty experiences of the children. I guess I'll have to bring in an anecdote about a family with which I've been working in Palo Alto. It's an unusual group. There are 22 people living in one house, two full, intact families, but they pay for this house together. They pool their incomes. It's not a very pleasant situation, and it's hard to see possibilities for the children, some of whom have been born in the U.S.

I met some of the family in a dental office, and my son, who is four and a half, said, "Mommy, that little boy doesn't have any pants on. He just has his underpants." I said, "Yes, because sometimes their mothers don't have enough money to buy them pants. Why don't we go home and get some of your clothes, since you're growing like a weed, and give them to him?" We continued to go back there and share clothing.

Soon members of the family were dropping into my office at prestigious Stanford University, and I ended up serving as a welfare agency there. I simply was trying to get a sense for the circumstances that lead to the perpetuation of disadvantage over time. I took it on as an ethnographic experience, but also to get a better feeling of what made these people resolved in spite of extreme deprivation and the obstacles they had to face. Their choice was either go back to Mexico or stay illegally in the United States, as none of them were eligible for amnesty.

SHARON DALY, U.S. Catholic Conference: I'd like to go back to what an earlier speaker said about blaming the victim. There's so much emphasis now on the growth of single parent families and their poverty that it obscures the fact that most poor Hispanic children are in two-parent families, that 21 percent of Hispanic families with children are poor even though their parents have high school educations.

If you have the people who are doing everything right, who are married and staying together, and who work full time, and they are still poor, it doesn't give much hope for people who haven't done everything right. Very often the argument is, well, if people would just behave better, then we wouldn't have these problems, when in fact they are not just as likely, but still very likely to be poor even if they did change.

Have any of you done any research on the influence of the minimum wage and poverty among Hispanic children, or on the fact that the minimum wage has not gone up since 1981?

DR. TIENDA: I think the evidence is clear that most, or a large share, of the poverty population, not only Hispanics, are working poor. A single mother working full time at the minimum wage could not afford to have more than one child because she would be impoverished. When my students ask me in my courses on poverty and minority groups, I say that if my choice as a single mother was to work at minimum wage full time or go on welfare to stay home and take care of my child, I wouldn't think twice. I would go on welfare because the benefits do not compensate one another. They simply do not. A minimum wage simply cannot offset psychological benefits or the importance of socialization, not to mention the other kinds of benefits associated with welfare, including some child medical coverage and the possibility of participating in various feeding programs and the like.

When we consider it in those terms, it can't be a matter of simple economics. The social factors are so preponderant that they make it very difficult to think about the adequacy or inadequacy of our wage system.

If we look at the profiles of disadvantage in terms of the labor market, there are two dimensions. The first is whether people get a job and the second is what they are earning given their skill level. It's not just a matter of skill. At comparable skill levels we find these wage disparities, partly due to different job availability, but also due to the definition and assignment of economic rewards according to race and ethnicity. That's a fact of our society.

DR. VADA PAS, University of the District of Columbia: I have a question for Dr. Madrid.

I am in academia and therefore concerned with one of your beginning statements, about tracking students into trade schools instead of into preparatory college courses. You gave statistics about the level of achievement by the first four grades and then the next four grades, and then 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, and you said even at the 12th grade level they were one year behind.

I thought that you were implying that we should lower the standards of our Hispanic students in order that they can compete some way. I was appalled, to say the least.

DR. MADRID: No, no. Let me say absolutely not.

DR. PAS: Okay. Thank you.

My other question is about what we are doing in terms of positive things. As a minority woman whose mother was the head of a household and whose children went to college, I can speak to this.

We have role models for women in science. I work very actively on the Committee on the Status of Women in Microbiology and also work with Minority Women in Science.

What are we doing as Hispanics to have role models for all our children? I am in Big Sisters, which participates in science fairs. We have a volunteer group in the District of Columbia for which I act as an advisor in science and engineering. I also am in the Academy of Sciences and on the Board of Science and Engineering.

What are we all doing to challenge our own kind to get ahead in the game? What are we doing in the District of Columbia to help all these immigrant students get into UDC, to change their legal status as students with student visas? We are not doing enough for them.

DR. MADRID: In partial clarification here, my observations about the levels of academic achievement and educational attainment were meant to show that there is something very unfortunate going on which I believe can be remedied.

The whole question of vocational and general education versus college prep is a problem because it's a tracking issue. A recent study shows that vocational education in California high schools is a disaster. For example, in the area of preparing students for business careers, most high schools still are using manual typewriters. Who uses a manual typewriter these days? Who uses a typewriter? What is a typewriter? That gives you an indication of what vocational education looks like in your typical high school.

General education. I refer to general education as the limbo of education. You're nowhere. You're just wandering through school. At the very least, vocational education might teach you how to open an account.

With respect to the question of role models in science and math, two points here. First, if there's any area in which we've been able to show that you can change the dynamics, that you can overcome the infrastructures that obtain in the educational process, it's in science. Ten, fifteen years of activity coming out of both public and private funding agencies have shown that if you start early enough, and if you sustain and nurture their efforts, you can produce minority kids and women who are fabulous scientists. No question about it. It just gives the lie to genetic and cultural and internal/structural deficit models.

However, what normally happens is that we begin to develop a role model process that is terribly inappropriate. There *are* appropriate role models, but I am not a role model for the kindergarten kid or the sixth grader or the ninth grader. None of us really is. It has to be an appropriate role model: a brother, a cousin, a friend, somebody that has a position that you can reach. We have to think in terms of appropriate role models.

DR. TIENDA: I'd like to disagree on role modeling because I believe that it has no limits, but I have been hidden away in the Midwest doing my work and pretty isolated from the dynamics of the Hispanic community where things are really happening. I've had my most important experiences in California at Stanford University, where students from privileged backgrounds still have not been able to find appropriate role models to anchor them, people sensitive to their concerns, needs, and interests.

I don't think there are any limits to our role modeling, whether with the little four-year-old child who's short of clothing or the college-bound student. We need to make them feel comfortable with us, and to let them know that their aspirations are possible.

Not everybody is going to get a college education, as Congressman Roybal said. I was fortunate enough to be able to break out of the cycle of poverty for a lot of fortuitous circumstances that came together and allowed me the opportunity to push on, and because of energy. Not everybody has those opportunities, but role modeling and giving positive examples must exist at every level, from every professional person who has made it for whatever reasons, from privileged or underprivileged backgrounds.

I don't think we can emphasize role modeling as a socialization process enough. It has to go beyond the corners of the school. It has to be maintained in the community at all levels. Role modeling is really critical.

DR. PACHON: One of the things that we in NALEO try to do is bring together a mix of experts from different sectors. That way we hope to combine and mix academic, practitioner, and public policy perspectives on a particular issue. We've done that with some success on U.S. citizenship in the Latino community, and we're following the same model for the issue of Latino children and poverty.

Our second panel has individuals as able and qualified in their respective fields as our first panel had. Let me introduce our first speaker, Mr. Cesar Perales. Mr. Perales was appointed Commissioner of the New York State Department of Social Services in 1983 by Governor Mario Cuomo. As Commissioner he oversees a $16 billion budget for all state public assistance programs, Medicaid, child support enforcement, child protective services, and many other programs.

He served previously as the President and General Counsel of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund and during the Carter Administration he was Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services.

Mr. Perales currently chairs the Employment Committee of the American Public Welfare Association. He holds a law degree from the Fordham University School of Law.

MR. PERALES: Thank you very much. I am pleased that you invited me here this morning. Let me commend the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials for convening this conference to examine an area of great concern to us all.

As a Commissioner in New York State, I am all too aware of the disheartening statistics on children and poverty. Poverty rates for children are higher in New York than they are in the nation as a whole. This is in large part because of the high rate for Hispanics, more than 44 percent in New York compared with 29 percent in the rest of the country.

It is a myth that Hispanic children live in two parent households and are, therefore, better off than other minorities. In fact, nationally 50 percent of poor Hispanic children live in female-headed households. In New York State, 75 percent of poor Hispanic children live in female-headed households.

By decade's end, the unwanted distinction of being the nation's poorest large minority group will pass from Blacks to Hispanics according to a study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities here in Washington. This study also reports that while Hispanic households still earn more than Black households, larger family size also means that Hispanics as individuals are poorer.

Black children and White children in New York State are no more likely to be poor than Black and White children in the nation as a whole, but in New York Hispanic children are 50 percent more likely to be poor than in the rest of the country. These are grim statistics.

But after a time I think statistics lose their power to shock. We must never lose sight of the children beyond these statistics, living out their lives in poverty, often hungry., homeless, deprived of even basic health care, and at high risk of not achieving even a minimum education.

Children in this country today are poorer and more disadvantaged than they have ever been, and this, I submit, is a terrible indictment of national policy. It is a trend that must be reversed.

The approach I'm trying to take in my department is one that addresses the income and health care needs of poor families, that looks at children as our investment in the future. To me one of government's most important responsibilities is to insure that children reach their adulthood intact and strong.

We need comprehensive health services accessible to all, regardless of income. Mothers, poor or not, must have access to a full range of prenatal and perinatal services. There also must be health care available to carry the child to adolescence and finally, adulthood. Over the past five years, we have seen cuts at the federal level in such programs focusing on the needs of children such as the maternal and child health block grant and the childhood immunization program.

Children who begin life without appropriate health care are more than the isolated problems of single mothers or the concern of a particular inner city neighborhood. They are more than the fiscal concern of the state budget that will be drawn upon for required services. Their health is critical to the well-being of all of us.

Many of New York's Medicaid-eligible children were not receiving care when I took office. To better meet their health needs I've attempted to redesign preventive health care programs. I've put in place a Child/Teen Health Plan under Medicaid that provides for regular and comprehensive health examinations for youth under the age of 21. The plan utilizes computer-generated reports to monitor the provision of medical services to low income children and notifies families when examinations and immunizations are due.

Low income families burdened by severe financial problems and other stresses are likely to make little or no effort to seek preventive health care. To expand the use of this very valuable program, my department, at the Governor's direction, is currently studying the changes necessary to require all hospitals, out-patient departments, and free-standing clinics to provide this Child/Teen Health Plan examination.

As children move into adolescence and their teen years, lack of education and job skills become primary concerns. The news here is not good for Hispanics, either. Sixty-six percent of Hispanics in New York State who started the ninth grade in 1981 did not graduate high school four years later, a rate twice as high as that for White students.

This failure of the educational system leads too often to welfare dependency. One of the keys to economic self-sufficiency for welfare recipients is the availability of meaningful educational opportunities.

One of my department's employment projects, probably the one of which I'm most proud, is called Operation PACE. It provides college level training up to an Associate degree for public assistance recipients. The word "PACE" stands for Public Assistance Comprehensive Employment. It began as a pilot project in 1986 at the Hudson Valley Community College in Albany, near the state capital, and has been extended to other community colleges in the state. I think that PACE holds real promise for reducing economic dependency in the long term.

Another Departmental initiative is called CEOSC, which stands for Comprehensive Employment Opportunity Support Centers. These are special demonstration projects to help welfare parents with young children obtain jobs. Nonpublic and not-for-profit agencies and institutions throughout the state have been awarded grants totaling $10 million to provide intensive outreach, training, and supportive services, specifically targeting parents with children under the age of six who volunteer to participate.

These support centers coordinate their programs with existing community organizations to provide a wide range of services and employment programs, including vocational training, counseling, child care right on the premises, transportation, and training assessment.

One of the CEOSC grantees is the National Puerto Rican Forum of New York, which has a well established outreach and recruitment effort. Another program, operated by a group called HACER, the Hispanic Women's Center, is designed to provide services to non-English-speaking Hispanic women primarily from the Dominican Republic.

Today, in addition to high dropout rates, we are seeing a sharp rise in teenage pregnancy and parenthood. According to the Children's Defense Fund, single parenthood among teens is much more strongly linked to poverty than it is to race. But since poverty figures generally are higher in Hispanic and Black populations, what we're seeing is growing numbers of minority students not graduating from high school and ill-prepared to find a job or raise a child.

Teenage pregnancy today implies teenage out-of-wedlock pregnancy and a breakdown of the family unit, a breakdown of Hispanic family values. Teenage pregnancy has a direct statistical relationship to female-headed households and to the growing population of what has come to be called "the underclass." Across the nation much of the push to combat teenage pregnancy and open up educational and job training opportunities is coming at the state level. At the federal level, I think there's a failure to perceive any responsibility to develop and promote programs to combat this epidemic of children having children, or to offer constructive programs for job training and education.

Such neglect is dangerously shortsighted. It is promulgated by an administration that prefers to see no evil and hear no evil, especially if the problems are emanating from addresses in the barrios of this country.

In New York State, a 1984 study of teenage pregnancy and welfare dependence resulted in case management of pregnant and parenting adolescents who are on public assistance. Rather than merely providing a check and food stamps, case management provides a structured system to insure that participating teenagers have access to a range of services needed to achieve economic self-sufficiency and get off welfare. Single mothers are, for example, guided to services to help them get a high school degree either by returning to school or through the GED process.

Already nine welfare centers throughout the state have implemented the case management approach as pilot projects, and we plan to activate case management provisions on a state-wide basis for all eligible teenager welfare recipients by the beginning of 1988.

About 25 percent of the teenagers served by these pilot projects are Hispanics, and in areas where there is a large Spanish-speaking population, the projects have made concerted efforts to see that both linguistic and cultural issues are addressed. I believe these projects mark the first time the state has implemented a program of this scope for its pregnant and single-parent teenage public assistance recipients.

In separate, but related programs, my department has awarded more than $1.5 million over the past three years to Hispanic service providers for programs that emphasize pregnancy prevention and self-sufficiency for teen parents.

I've left commenting until last on a social phenomenon reaching tragic proportions, the epidemic of homelessness sweeping across the nation. Hard figures on the numbers and composition of homeless are difficult to arrive at, but we do know that Hispanic families are disproportionately represented in New York.

It is estimated that there are about 6,000 homeless families in New York State. A 1984 study showed that about 32 percent of the homeless families housed in shelters and reported to my department were Hispanic. Keep in mind that only ten percent of the population in New York State is Hispanic.

The shocking fact is that families comprise the fastest growing category of homeless in my state. Mothers, fathers, and their children are being forced out of an increasingly expensive and constricted housing market and into welfare hotels and shelters. Homelessness is a terrible state for a human being. It is particularly traumatic for children because it robs them of their childhood. They have no place to call their own, no place to play, and often no place to go to school.

Over the last four years New York State has committed $90 million to the homeless housing assistance program, which is being administered by my department. It creates permanent housing as well as emergency and temporary units. That's a lot of money, and it's helping a lot of people, but it's only a finger in the dike when we look at the dimensions of homelessness. This is a problem that continues to outstrip our efforts to deal with it.

What I have outlined this morning are some of the problems of childhood poverty in New York, and some of the programs and approaches I've taken to address them. There is obviously still much to be done, and we don't have the luxury of time. Today we are looking at a generation of children that may well be lost to poverty and poverty's handmaidens, despair and alienation. Who speaks for these children? There are too few voices raised on their behalf. We need a constituency in the Hispanic community to protest the statistics that show an ever-increasing number of our children are doomed to live poor.

I think we in this room ought to ponder deeply what it must be like to be a child who can only look to a lifetime of days lived in poverty. All of us in the Hispanic community must make our voices heard. We must make our outrage felt at every level of government and in our communities. We owe our children nothing less.

DR. PACHON: Our second panelist is Gary Walker. Mr. Walker is the Executive Vice President of Public/Private Ventures, a national, nonprofit agency which conducts research on program demonstrations in education, employment, and training as they pertain to the disadvantaged and youth.

Prior to coming to Public/Private Ventures, PPV, Mr. Walker was Senior Vice President of the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation and a partner in the firm of Grinker, Walker and Associates. He holds a law degree from the Yale University.

MR. WALKER: I want to talk this morning about an approach that has become popular during the last ten years as an attempt to assist poor youth, particularly those who are behind in school and seem to have poor prospects in the labor market. This is the idea of using partnerships of public social service agencies, schools and private employers.

The partnership notion is used now to

describe almost every social policy initiative you hear about. It has become so popular as to become almost meaningless, and I hesitate to use it because of its popularization. It has political appeal, it draws foundation and government grant monies, and of course it makes everybody feel good.

But in fact partnerships are not so prevalent as they seem and are especially rare in connection with those youth least likely to make it in our society--who have become parents, who are a couple of grades behind in school, or who have dropped out.

The best example of the idea is one which many of you know, the Job Training Partnership Act, which is the largest source of federal funds aiming to improve youth employability. Legislation says that it's supposed to be for those most in need, which would cover many of the youth discussed this morning. As a matter of fact, it aims primarily at young people doing reasonably well in high school and who probably have decent prospects for getting employment under any conditions. The same is true of similar programs.

Now, we might ask two questions: One, why do these partnerships not work out as intended? And two, what difference does it make? Was this just a funding device thought up when the feds cut back their money which will pass the way of many other fads?

I'd like to take the position that, overused as the idea is, we ought to, and particularly the people in this room ought to, pay attention to what is going on in various partnership efforts because they may represent one of the best resources we have for assisting the worst off of youth.

I would also say that the reason partnership programs aren't working as well as they're supposed to or alleged to, and the reason they've mostly become a public relations device, is that it is very hard for this society to abandon the notion that a person's development is linear--that from approximately zero to five, the child is the responsibility of the family, from five to 18 or 22 the youth is the responsibility of the schools, and from then on, the mature adult goes into the labor market.

Now, that's a very neat, orderly, understandable kind of progression, and it seems to make sense. It fixes accountability and in an ideal situation it would work for most kids.

However, there are basically two problems with it. One is that it leaves the last institution, namely the employer, off the hook. When unemployment goes to 20, 30, or 40 percent among 18 year old Hispanic youth in New York City, it's the employer who can turn to the first two stages of the development process, the family and the schools, and say, "Do something."

So what do you see? Well, you see public policy statements about improving the accountability of families for what they do with their kids. You see numerous statements why the schools should improve. You see attempts at remedial education programs, and then, occasionally, you will see transition programs which do have an employer working together with schools at, say, the junior and senior high school level.

But the guy at the end, the employer, always has the whiphand. When things aren't working well, there are two institutions in front to blame.

The second and more fundamental flaw of the notion of children's linear development is that it doesn't take into account the way kids think and behave. Kids will prosper in schools if they believe that they are in an almost inexorable process, that if they do well in the second stage there is a third stage awaiting them. What we're seeing in a lot of the survey research at PPV is that there are an increasing number of youth, particularly among Latinos and Blacks, who do not believe the linear process works for them. They simply don't believe that employers are anxiously awaiting them or, now that it's gone even further, that schools are anxiously awaiting them.

They are also coming to this belief at an increasingly earlier age. What we're seeing in a lot of our interviews is that by the ages of 12, 13, and 14, a high percentage of kids are cynical about the usefulness of education, in good part because they don't perceive that the schools are organized to assist or serve them, and in good part because the experience of their families, their peers, and their communities offers little evidence that the labor market is going to reward them if they do well in school.

I think all of us in the room should support efforts at school reform, at all the improvements in social services, remediation efforts, and parenting courses around. What I suspect though is that even if all those programs are done, done well and in large scale, we are still going to end up shaking our heads in puzzlement about results.

If all of the lessons of effective schooling are operationalized, if all teenagers are taught parenting and do very well at that, I think a large number of youth will still not follow the process to its logical end in hopes that things will turn out all right for them. What isn't working right? If we seem to have the first two parts of the linear process in place, why will kids still be dropping out?

The answer, as I said at the beginning, is to get employers, schools, parents, and social service agencies working together to meet the kids' need for all sectors of the community to jointly care about their future. Youth need that, particularly youth that grow up poor and experience unemployment all around. Those kids cannot have only linear experiences and do well. They have to see everying coming together at once.

To be useful, community partnership should start with the early teenage years, 12, 13, 14. A lot of the research on cognitive development shows that it's in those years that youth begin to consciously formulate and articulate their hopes about their lives, society, and the future. They need to see evidence at that point that something awaits them.

All of this sounds good to say, but it's hard to do. What happens is that such a plan runs smack up against several powerful obstacles, even among the very institutions that say they want to cooperate for these children.

Families say, "We don't want that sort of program because we don't want our children at 12, 13, or 14 tempted to think that work is a good thing. They might leave school. We don't really want them too involved with employers and the labor market."

The schools will say a similar thing. "We don't want employers affecting the way we handle our curriculum. We don't want them tempting the kids to leave."

And the employers, lastly, will say, "What can we do with these kids? They're 12, 13, 14. They're not ready for us. They can't really be productive. They're of no use."

So, in short, I think each of the major sectors of the society reacts to protect both itself and this notion that youth development proceeds in a nice, logical sequence. The outcome of their collective reactions works against poor youth who don't think in that fashion at all.

What can we do? We have pretty good research evidence to show that coordinated projects work. I'll give you examples of two programs in operation now. One is a demonstration we're running in five communities around the country called the Summer Training and Education Program. This was set up on the idea that there are a lot of 14 and 15 year old kids who, statistics predict, are going to drop out of school because they're already two grades or more behind. They come from poor families and live in largely poor communities, so they're not seeing much employment. Soon they're going to be 16 years old, and a high percentage of them will leave school entirely.

Earlier research has shown that summer is a key time in all of these kids' lives. If you look carefully at test scores, you will find that in many schools poor youth keep up with middle class youth during the school year. However, over the summer their scores will decline by almost a grade in reading and from half to two-thirds of a grade in math, in comparison to small losses by middle and higher income kids, who can make up their drop very quickly.

If lower income students experience that kind of academic loss over two or three consecutive summers from the time they're 12, if not earlier, you can see that by the time they reach 16, going back to school will be a tremendous catch-up effort.

We have also found out that the typical summer school does not improve test scores much. Poor students do not feel that the curriculum is particularly appropriate for them. In addition, summer school has a hard time voluntarily drawing poor kids because they tend to go into a summer youth employment program or another kind of job.

The Summer Training and Education Program was designed to provide half-day private employment and half-day special school curriculum to reinforce the idea that it's important to learn to read and gain math skills for future job opportunities. Students were paid for the entire seven and a half hours a day, five days a week, even though part of each day was spent in class.

We found at the end of the second summer that the kids in the program had no learning loss in reading at the end of vacation and actually had gains in math. The control group, who simply got into the regular summer youth employment program, did fine in the sense that they had jobs and made some money, but their academic losses were about one grade in reading and about a half a grade in math.

This program was relatively inexpensive to put together. It did not involve great sacrifice on the part of private employers because, although they were originally hesitant to bring on 14 and 15 year olds, they decided they could structure half-time jobs. And the schools found it possible to run the special curriculum and liked it because it brought in kids otherwise likely to fail.

In sum, the partnership worked reasonably well, was cost-effective, got the kids interested, and did not demand major adjustment on any particular institution's part. At the end of the summer, from follow-up surveys, we found a statistically significant change in student aspirations, or I should say expectations, about what they were capable of doing in life. That's one program.

The second program is called the Bridge Program. This one focuses not on the summer but on the school year. It works on the theory that when kids leave the eighth grade and go into high school, there's a critical jump from a small institution into a much larger, more impersonal one. It is a hard move for many adolescents, particularly if they're not doing well in school and come from poor communities. The temptation to say, "I'm not going to get much out of this," is great.

In the Bridge Program being conducted in five communities, eighth grade students who seem most likely to drop out within the next two years are identified by their teachers. At that point the private sector agrees through the Job Training Partnership Act to provide them with guaranteed jobs between the eighth grade and high school, and the school again puts together a special remedial education component. Those young people are not left in that crucial transition year with no education or employment experience.

In addition, during their freshmen and sophomore years, these at-risk students go into a regular education program, but one class a day five days a week is devoted to remedial work, and during one or two of those days employers come in to talk to them about employment prospects in the community. They also give some part-time jobs and take students onto their premises to show them what they're doing.

What seems to have happened is that kids are finding out about employment prospects in the community. They're also getting the kind of ongoing academic assistance and attention they need. In addition, and perhaps equally important, employers are getting a chance to modify their notions about employability. If their only previous experience with publicly funded programs has been hiring 17 and 18 year olds who are often behind in school and not doing well, they have probably found, as any of us would, that the older teenagers are much more troublesome than are the 13, 14, and 15 year olds. The younger students are easier to deal with, especially on the basis of a half rather than a full day of work. We have found from our employer interviews that they walk away from the program with sympathy for and understanding of the program and a willingness to think about hiring young teenagers whereas before, if they were frank, they never would have considered it.

These are two successful programs. I think this kind of partnership, beyond its public relations and funding values, the primary uses now, really offers hope to many of the youth about whom this conference is concerned. I think changes in individual institutional efforts will probably not bear a great deal of fruit because what you really need to change is youth hopes and beliefs about their future. The most important way to do that is to get employers involved with the school and the family so that all factors can be changed at once, rather than sequentially. The linear approach has simply not worked.

DR. PACHON: Our next speaker is Hernan LaFontaine. Since 1979 Mr. LaFontaine has been Superintendent of Schools in Hartford, Connecticut, a system serving more than 25,000 students of whom 45 percent are Hispanic.

Mr. LaFontaine served previously as the Executive Director of the Office of Bilingual Education for the New York City Board of Education, and principal of P.S. 25, the first completely bilingual school in the New York City school system.

He sits on the Carnegie Council of Adolescent Development, and he previously was the President of the National Association of Bilingual Education. He holds a Master's degree from the City College of New York and a professional diploma in educational administration from

Fordham University.

MR. LA FONTAINE: Thank you. We've got to liven this up a little bit, so I'm going to tell a story. Some of you may have already heard it. It's the story of a fellow who robbed the bank and was being chased by the police. It was one of these really close chasesand they got to a town where everybody spoke only Spanish except one person who was bilingual. Let's make him the Superintendent of Schools.

This Superintendent of Schools came out when he saw the chase with the police right on top of the guy and said, "Wait a minute. Hold it. What is this, police brutality? What's going on?"

The police said, "We know this fellow robbed the bank. We were eyewitnesses. We want the money back."

The fellow didn't speak a word of English so the Superintendent said to him, in Spanish, "Ellos dicen que tu robaste un banco y quieren el dinero ahora mismo." (For those of you who don't speak Spanish, turn to a neighbor, okay?) The fellow replied, "Yo no robe ningun banco." The Superintendent translated, "He said he didn't rob the bank."

The police said, again, "We saw him. We were right behind him. We were eyewitnesses. We know he took the money. We want to know where it is."

So the Superintendent said to the fellow: "Ellos dicen que te vieron robar el banco y quieren saber donde esta el dinero."

"Yo no se nada porque yo no robe ningun banco."

"He says he didn't do it. He says he doesn't know anything about it."

At that point the officer took out a gun and pointed it at the criminal's, the thief's, head and said, "You tell him that if he doesn't tell us where the money is, I'm just going to shoot him right now."

The Superintendent told the fellow, "Mira muchacho, el dice que si no le dices donde esta el dinero te van a matar."

"Dice que el dinero esta es un saco, en un pozo, en el centro de la plaza."

And the Superintendent turned around to the police and said, "He said shoot him. He's not afraid to die."

It's one of those cases where you lose something in translation. Either that or it's very important to be bilingual.

The fact of the matter is I do have to get serious because childhood poverty is a serious topic. Everything I have been hearing at this conference reflects what's been going on in Hartford, reflects what I know from my experience of many years in New York City. Unfortunately, I don't see the kind of progress I would wish for.

Hartford, Connecticut is the state capital and you may have an image of it being the insurance capital of the country, or perhaps the world. So you may think of an all-white, affluent town in Yankee country up there in New England.

The reality is that in spite of the fact that Connecticut just recently became the wealthiest state in the country, even beyond Alaska, the city of Hartford is the fourth poorest city in the nation. It's incredible to have such a discrepancy within such an affluent state, to have the capital of the richest state be the fourth poorest city in the country.

However, it's not surprising because Hartford is an urban area--and you know "urban" these days is a euphemism for all of the things we used to say years ago about the ghettoes. Now we say "urban areas," "urban school districts," "inner city school districts"--and it means problems. Hartford is where the greatest concentration of minority folks are, in terms of both total and student population.

In the Hartford school system of 25,000, 45 percent of the students are Hispanic, predominantly Puerto Rican. Forty-five percent. Add that to 44 percent Black students and now you're talking about 89 percent, plus another percent or two of Asian-American and other minorities. Over 90 percent of the students in Hartford, Connecticut are minorities. Astounding when you consider the image of Hartford.

Within this same "urban area" are all the big insurance companies, the mansions erected for the insurance industry. Those companies have employees by the thousands, nearly all of whom come in the morning and leave quickly at the end of the day lest they should have to mingle with the natives.

I'm not exaggerating much about the lack of interaction between the commuting population and the residents who have to live the life of the fourth poorest city in the United States.

In Hartford we see all of the problems you see in any urban school district. I'm not going to belabor the data given earlier, but we have very, very high poverty rates, high unemployment rates, and a rising number of single parent families. We also have a high infant mortality rate, which has not been mentioned before. Everybody knows this is also another indicator of poverty.

Then there is the problem of high student mobility. We thought that might have decreased over the years, but it hasn't. The way we calculate mobility is to count the number of kids who come into the schools and the number of kids who leave between October and May.

In a class of 30 kids, for instance, 15 may leave and another 15 come during the course of the year. In other words, there is a 50 percent turnover.

This is not uncommon. In fact, for some time now we had mobility rates of 90 and 95 percent in some of our schools, and sometimes even 100 percent. Even if half of the entire school population leaves, by the end of the year, you have virtually a new school. The teacher who has 30 kids has to be constantly thinking about what she is going to be doing with students going in and out nearly every day. It becomes a major educational problem, and it has not slackened over the years. We have movement within the district, in and out of the district to other cities, in and out of the state, and in and out of the country. It all results in very high student turnover.

We also have a very large number of students who are limited English proficient, ranging from those who do not speak a word of English to those born and raised in Hartford who for many reasons have a very, very limited knowledge of English. When you look at the problem on a national level, we're talking about millions of students, even by the most conservative estimate, around three million, and maybe as high as five million. And the number of LEP students continues to grow because the Hispanic population continues to grow.

Back in the '40s and '50s, when some of us were coming into the school systems, we said, "Look, we've got to do something about these kids who are limited in English." The official response often was, "It's just a passing problem. You're getting an influx of these children now, but you don't have to pay too much attention because it will go away." That's what they told us in 1950, in 1955, and in 1958, and here we are in 1987. LEP students didn't go away. They're still here, and in larger numbers than ever before.

Unfortunately, I think this denial of their continuing existence reflects a general American attitude. I'm as American as anybody else, but at the same time I'm Puerto Rican, and I understand that that kind of attitude reflects benign neglect, in fact more than benign neglect, of the entire Hispanic world surrounding the United States, almost like we don't exist.

Millions and millions of people who speak Spanish don't exist and never did. The country has got to realize that we're here to stay. It's been a difficult concept to get across.

The kinds of indicators of poverty that we have talked about lead to educational problems. Again, nothing new. The fact that every time you look at any school district or large Hispanic population you see poor academic achievement and a tremendous need for remedial services, though whether they're provided is another matter.

In Hartford, where we're making some progress in reducing the dropout rates generally, the Hispanic rate is still increasing. It's amazing, and when I stand there as a Puerto Rican superintendent, I say to myself, "My God, I'm in charge of this whole system. There's got to be something that I can do."

The fact that Hispanic students still are dropping out in greater numbers than other populations really does hurt, but, again, it reflects what's happening nationally, not just in Hartford or in New York City, but throughout the country. The same kinds of conditions prevail; the same kinds of problems are happening.

In spite of all of the equal opportunity, affirmative action kinds of programs, colleges throughout the country are begging to have Hispanic students and not getting them, mostly because we are not generating them from the elementary and secondary schools.

I don't look for excuses. I recognize that a tremendous job faces us in the public schools. But by the same token, the colleges need to do some more active recruiting and do certain things to help retain students who do get to that level. It's a responsibility to be shared by all.

With all the problems, we might want to wring our hands in the corner and start to cry. I can't do that because if I did, I wouldn't be in my job. As a school superintendent, I have to look at how we can deal with them.

Hartford has done some things. The problems still exist, and there are no miraculous cures, but we've done some things in terms of each one of them.

The dropout prevention program we are using has already been mentioned; that is Project Bridge, which gets support from Public/Private Ventures. The idea is that we must focus on pre-vention in high school because we know that, if we do nothing, we're going to wind up with astronomical numbers of dropouts. We have a very comprehensive program at that level.

But to be really thorough, a program has to also be put into the lower grades. We have enough information to be able to identify potential dropouts early on. Any teacher in the elementary schools can tell you, "Look. These kids are really having problems, and if nothing is done, they will wind up as a very high risk to drop out of high school."

What we did with Project Bridge was to move down into the middle schools.

From the eighth grade to the ninth grade--and our high schools begin at the ninth grade--a lot of students disappear. We had a category of students called "no shows," which meant that they graduated from the eighth grade, and they never came into the ninth grade.

High school principals were upset because we made them accountable for these students. They said, "Gee, that's not fair. We never even saw them. Why are you saying they're our dropouts?"

Assigning blame was irrelevant. The problem was the drop in attendance between the eighth and the ninth grade. We asked, "Can we address those kids who are very high risk in the seventh and eighth grades, those who have already been retained two years, and in many cases three years, and offer them some incentives to stay in school, in some cases even letting them skip a grade further up?" Now, that sounds absurd. If they haven't been very successful, why are you going to move them ahead?

Well, we don't move them ahead automatically. They go into Project Bridge. They get an intensive program while they're there. They get additional support in the summer, and they've got to participate and adhere to certain standards. When they come back in September, if they are continuing to maintain their grades--and there's a rather intricate system for checking their progress--then they may actually move to the high school in the middle of that year.

It becomes a very powerful incentive for them. They can see that it actually pays off to come to school every day, do homework, behave in a certain way--to get a chance to catch up with your buddies in high school. It's a small program involving maybe 40 or 50 students, but we're already thinking of expanding it, trying to concentrate on at-risk students to lower the number of high school dropouts.

Going to the other end completely, we must look at early childhood. The focus on dropouts comes later. We need to broaden the concept of effective education to include pre-kindergarten and post-12th grade.

For early education we're asking if we can provide additional support for children before kindergarten so that by the time they get to the official grades of kindergarten and first grade they are ready.

It's not easy because we have a dichotomy. More and more White, middle class, affluent families are delaying their children's entry into kindergarten. Remember some time ago when it used to be fashionable to say, "How early can I get my kid into kindergarten? He's got eight more months to go before he's five. Can we beat the deadline?" Everybody was rushing their kids because the faster they got them in, the faster and the younger they'd graduate.

That's changing. More and more middle class parents are saying, "There's no rush. He'll go to kindergarten when he's five, maybe five and a half, or almost six. No big deal." When some of our minority parents see that, they begin to say, "Well, yeah, I don't want to send my kid to school. Hold on."

We try to tell minority parents, "Wait a minute. You're looking at two different situations. The child who comes from the affluent home that has all of the extra enrichment and support and language interaction and trips is not having the same kinds of experiences as a little kid in the barrio." It's a totally different world. I never left One Hundred and Tenth Street until I was 15 years old, I think, to go down to 96th Street, which was downtown, way downtown.

So the fact of the matter is that our children don't have all these additional, supportive kinds of interactions. They need school as early as possible to be able to get the kinds of things that middle class children get as part of their everyday living. Our kids have to come in earlier.

For instance, in terms of language experience, I used to go home and if I said something to my mother like, "Mira mama lo que dijeron en el colegio hoy," she'd say "Dejame quito." I can't blame her because she was too busy with all of the kids and the cooking and my father was coming home, but many of us have gone through this.

The fact of the matter is that children need language interaction. I tell mothers and fathers that when the kids come home and want to talk, they should pay a little attention to them. Most of the time the parent, especially the mother, has been working all day and has to come home and cook a meal for everybody. When the kid says, "Can I show you my drawing?" the mother answers, "Later, later, later." And there is very little language being exchanged between the child and parent or between the child and anybody around the house. There's a lot of, "Un-huh, un-huh," but no real words. It's hard for the child to develop language skills if he's not practicing language.

Now, if that happens to the child at three and four and five years old, it's no surprise that he or she comes to school with tremendous language deficits. If there is no language interaction up to that time, we can't suddenly expect full sentences. That's a 180 degree difference in expectations for the child who up to the time he comes to school has been told, "Be quiet. Get out of the way. I don't want to hear you," and so on.

So we need to bring young children into the schools as quickly as possible to increase their opportunities for language interaction as well as all the other cognitive and social experiences they need to be ready for first grade. If a kid is already behind by the time he enters first grade, he's going to get further behind by second and never have the chance to catch up. The earlier we get our students, the more likely it is that they will have a chance to make satisfactory academic progress.

Then there is the matter of language. I have come to the conclusion that we don't really know what we want because on the one hand we talk about how important it is to improve our foreign language programs and, on the other, we say to millions of youngsters who have a language other than English, "We can't use that, and we can't develop it, so forget it and put it aside." That is really a schizophrenic educational policy.

Bilingual education has become the most controversial educational topic I have seen in my whole professional career. Back in the 1960s, when we were starting with some of the smaller programs, there was a lot of debate about whether it would really work. In addition, people made it out to be un-American or unpatriotic because somehow English was being neglected. The fact of the matter is that there isn't a bilingual educator I know who doesn't believe students should learn English, and learn it well, because it is an essential skill for survival in the United States.

Much of the uproar has been because bilingual education is not being evaluated on its merits as an educational effort but is seen merely as a political stand. Not so, and I'll be glad to discuss the issue with anybody.

I'd like to wind up with a couple of quick points. First, I think youth employment programs are great when they are done in the manner Gary described, as a real partnership. We have a program called School to Work Partnership Transition Program, which was developed with the private sector because I challenged the insurance companies five or six years ago. I said, "You don't hire our people because you're racists, etc., etc."

And they in turn said, "We don't hire your students because they don't know how to read and write. You're graduating a bunch of illiterates."

When we got through that initial hostility, we started talking back and forth, and eventually our dialogue led to the point that we could say, "Hey, it's mutually advantageous to design programs to benefit both kids and the private sector." That's what we're doing.

Last year we took the bottom 25 percent of the senior class, the kids who usually wind up in limbo because they aren't going on to college, they aren't going into the military, and they don't have any job lined up. Their uncle or their cousin couldn't get them something some place. We said to these kids, "You're going to graduate. What are you going to do?" And they said, "I don't know."

So then we said, "Listen, you sit down with us. We'll put you through a whole orientation for work skills. We'll give you additional preparation in terms of academic skills, and then we'll hook you up with a whole bunch of companies with interviews."

Last year we placed 94 percent of that group in jobs, true, entry level jobs, but in big fancy companies with all kinds of possibilities for career development if the kids wanted to put something into it. This partnership program is turning out to be very positive.

Again, on the subject of necessary support for at-risk students, I don't have time to go into school-based health services. That's a beauty, let me tell you, and if anyone has an answer about allowing distribution of contraceptives in schools or counseling pregnant students, or a few other choice subjects, please see me afterwards.

Accountability is also vital, as Arturo Madrid mentioned in connection with effective school practices. When I started asking principals in my district about their test scores, some of them didn't even know. I would come in and say, "Listen, did you see that your fourth grade is here and last year it was there," and they'd say, "Well, how do you like that?"

I pointed out to them that they're the ones who are supposed to know. They're the ones who are supposed to provide instructional leadership. They're the ones who are supposed to focus on improving the quality of instruction.

You bet your life that the next year when I came around for the annual visit and started to ask, "What about these?" the principals beat me to the punch. "By the way, I want to show you these test scores. I did an analysis, and I think this over here . . . . ."

I can understand why we got into the predicament. Back in the '60s and '70s we picked the principal by how big he was because we were concerned with kids staying in the building and not going out the window. But times have changed. Though the effective school model includes a safe, orderly environment, we need much more.

Finally, I am concerned because even though the '80s were supposed to be the decade of the Hispanics, so far it has not lived up to its promise. We see progress here and there, but it's too slow. Acceleration can only come through really improving education.

The current activity in education reform presents an opportunity we cannot afford to miss because if we do, another decade will go by and we'll find ourselves in the 21st century. Kids going into school now will graduate in the next century, but unless we do something, a lot of Hispanics aren't going to be among them.

I urge you all to look at what we're doing in our schools and support every effort for improving educational programs.

Audience Discussion and Panel Response

DR. JOAN MOORE, University of Wisconsin: I want to get depressing again. I've been doing research for a number of years on a couple of Chicano gangs in Los Angeles. In the past couple of years in Milwaukee we've been studying a comparatively new phenomenon in medium-sized cities in the Middle West and, I think, in the country, the development of gangs, primarily minority gangs.

We interviewed the "founding fathers and mothers" of all of the gangs in Milwaukee, and I can corroborate what Mr. Walker says. Unlike the older Chicano gang members from Los Angeles, when we asked Milwaukee gang members about the advice they would give a young kid about school, they said, "Drop out. Drop out as fast as you can because it's not going to produce anything for you. It's not going to produce anything in terms of jobs."

Milwaukee, of course, is different from the Los Angeles scene because it has suffered the loss of jobs in industry that attracted the parents of current gang members to the city in the first place. The best these kids can do is McDonald's type jobs. There are no American Motors union jobs in Milwaukee any more. There are very few jobs that have any of the kind of core sector characteristics.

I'm really curious about the kinds of employers Mr. Walker is getting for the STEP program. Are they coming from the Sun Belt, or the Snow Belt, or the industrializing boom cities? What kinds of linkages are being made? What kinds of jobs are these kids going to? Are they the kinds of things that the parents of the gang kids went into or what?

And, secondly, what kinds of variations do you find between ethnic or minority groups? Are there similar responses, similar productivity, or whatever?

MR. WALKER: I wish I could respond more fully to the first question, but this program has only been going on for a year and a half. The kids are all 14 and 15, and, as you'd expect of part-time jobs for 14 and 15 year olds, they are largely in the service sector. They're McDonald's kinds of jobs. That is the only kind of employer that you can get interested in dealing with kids that age.

What I can't say anything about is what they might lead to down the line because they were just one-summer jobs. We know from our interviews that the kids' expectations increased just on account of that one summer. We know employers spoke better about their experiences with those kids than they had about experiences with previous federal summer youth employment programs, in part I think because it was part time work, and in part because the kids were also in school. Employers were very surprised that they could deal with 14 and 15 year olds. The end-of-project evaluations were good.
But beyond that, we just don't know. We hope that these kinds of connections will work out to something greater over the long run.

We've run this program for two summers. The first summer we let the local school districts put together a curriculum that they thought would appeal to 14 and 15 year olds, and we got enormous variation in the success rate among the various ethnic groups and cities.

The second summer we put together a very structured curriculum based on one-week modules, things that kids could relate to, such as leadership, or career development, or Explorers in the World, and the reading and math were connected to the topics.

After the second summer, with its common curriculum, we found fairly standard increases in test scores in both reading and math across all ethnic groups and in all five cities. What was really hopeful about that was that it looked as if we had developed something that ordinarily competent and motivated people can do and produce good results. As most of you who have any experience with research and demonstrations know, what often happens is one or two really exceptional people or sites will generate the results of an overall research effort. It doesn't look as if that is what has happened here.

Although there's some small differences among ethnic groups, none of them really bear making anything out of. All results are positive at this point.

MS. RITA JARAMILLO, President of the Mexican-American Women's National Association: I have a comment, and then I have a question for the panel. I was sitting there listening this morning and looking at some of the material presented to us and it struck me that one of the things we know that puts people into the poverty cycle is adolescent pregnancy. Clearly, when a young woman gets pregnant at the age of 14, it disrupts or terminates her education. She's not in a position to have a sound economic base, and not only does she upset her life, she affects another generation. One of the things that we do know is that adolescent pregnancy is caused not so much by the lack of birth control information, but the feeling among young women that there is no hope, that life will be the same at 14, and at 24, and at 54. Since we know that, I'm wondering if the schools have programs that address that issue, and then I'd like the gentleman who spoke on the private sector initiative to address that.

MR. LA FONTAINE: I can respond that, yes, programs have been developed to varying degrees. Some districts have extensive programs; others are limited. Generally the phenomenon of teenage pregnancy should be addressed as containing two different issues. The reasons why unmarried adolescents get pregnant is a separate problem. If in fact they are pregnant, then we have to develop a program with several stages. We try to help these young ladies while they are pregnant because we find there's a high incidence of low birth weight for teenage mothers. So first, we have to give them attention and care so they understand how to keep themselves in a healthy condition.

The second stage comes after the birth of the child. We encourage young mothers to continue their education with a program called TAPP, the Teenage Parent Program, which brings them into school. They are in their own facility, although they could have continued in their regular high school while they were pregnant if they had wanted to. That's an individual choice that they would have had to make, but many of them could not take the social pressure of being pregnant in the regular school. We have young mothers in a separate facility after they have their babies. They continue their academic programs, but they also get addition-al training in taking care of their baby and other parenting skills.

Then there's a third phase. Once the baby is beyond eight or nine months old, we encourage the teenage mothers to go back to school, regular school. That becomes quite difficult because many of them then require all sorts of additional support services.

It's this final phase that we're trying to develop, but it's expensive offering extra help for young parents who are still in high school and need babysitting and transportation and all sorts of other things.

MR. PERALES: In my remarks I alluded to a program in New York. I just want to describe it. The Governor asked the legislature to appropriate a large amount of money to do teenage pregnancy prevention at the community level. In New York we've spent about $10 million in the last couple of years trying to develop programs using peer group relationships. We have a very effective group, funded by the state government, who are known as the Sisterhood of Black Mothers. They go out into their own communities to work on pregnancy prevention, particularly prevention of second pregnancies of young women in inner city neighborhoods.

A million and a half dollars allotted to this program has gone to Hispanic groups in New York City.

MR. WALKER: I'm glad you asked that question because I've gotten used to describing the STEP Program without mentioning the fact that there's a life skills and opportunities part to the curriculum. Usually there are federal officials in the audience so I try to avoid speaking about anything relating to sex or pregnancy because they don't approve, but it's a good point.

In both the Bridge and STEP Programs, part of the curriculum, the so-called remediation curriculum, which is about two hours a week, is this life skills and opportunities course. I agree with you. I think research to date shows that if kids don't have information and you run programs that result in vast increases in information, you still can have no behavioral changes.

What we saw after last summer was a 50 percent greater use of contraceptives among those kids who had sexual activity. We showed no decrease in sexual activity even though the curriculum, as you might expect, teaches both abstinance and pregnancy prevention.

So there's some hope there, but I don't push it very far. It's just based on one summer, and there's a lot of counterevidence--that giving information doesn't do any good. I tend, like you, to think behavior change has more to do with some hope or belief that something is going to happen in your life than with just information.

MR. RUDY GARCIA, Noticias del Mundo: In these partnership arrangements with the private sector, I notice an awful lot of emphasis on large companies, like insurance companies. The banks in New York I know have recently adopted some schools. I'm wondering if any effort has been made, and if not, why not, to reach out to those businesses within our own Latino community in terms of trying to establish partnership relationships with schools. Also, how effective have these efforts been?

MR. LA FONTAINE: We tried a couple of admittedly small efforts with local businesses. First of all, generally you find that the local businesses are from the barrio, and in Hartford, when you go to Park Street or to North Main Street or to Albany Avenue, you find the candy store and the dry cleaning store and so on. Some of those are very willing to take on a youngster for a little part-time job, but when you start talking about the career type of experience over a long period of time, then it is more difficult to recruit small businesses that can provide those kinds of opportunities. There are some exceptions occasionally when you have a minority businessman who is involved in a relatively larger enterprise. We have found that the few there are, are very, very willing to cooperate with us.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Just the work experience itself?

MR. LA FONTAINE: Well, if we're talking about the School to Work Program, which is geared for the seniors, we're looking for more than just a quick work experience. We're looking for a career placement. However, if you're talking about the younger students, then we can go for the work experience.

MR. WALKER: I think largely for practical reasons, most programs don't go for smaller community businesses. It's hard to do. You have to hit a lot of businesses before you can find a place for one kid for the summer. So there's a certain amount of practicality involved. If you go to larger companies, you can hope that you can get a lot of the kids in. Employment counselors tend to think they do a lot better when they do have the time to develop summer jobs or part-time jobs with small employers, not necessarily in the same community but just with smaller employers, because they think there's a little more attention paid to the youth, a little more understanding and all.

That's not corroborated in any statistical way, but we hear them constantly say, "When we have the time, we'd rather go out and develop one or two youth placements in small business establishments."

I don't know what the experience is in Hartford. I know in New York a lot of the banks and paper-pushing industries won't deal any more with the kind of kids we're talking about, even in the summer. They may take a few kids but, more likely, they will put money into our programs or subsidize their wages in smaller businesses.

What we've seen across the nation is a movement away from large businesses being willing to deal with youth, even on a short-term basis. In a sense the question is being answered by necessity. The people who work with these programs are going to have to deal better with small and medium sized businesses.

RAMON SANTIAGO, Georgetown University Bilingual Educational Service Center: I'm glad that somebody on the panel addressed both the subjects of education and bilingual education because I think they are an essential part of the success story, certainly for Hispanics. But I'm a bit troubled because one of the things that has been said in regard to the controversy over bilingual education is that bilingualism in the United States will not become respectable until the business sector puts its seal of approval on it.

I want to ask the panel if, in trying to get Hispanics placed in jobs leading to careers, not just entry level positions, they have found American businesses appreciating capabilities in non-English languages? I think business values foreign language facility when a native speaker of English speaks French or Italian, but when a native speaker of Spanish, for example, tries to keep his own language, they see it as a deficit rather than a plus. What has been your experience in that respect?

MR. LA FONTAINE: I can respond. It's not a pretty answer. The fact of the matter is that I don't see any kind of positive attitude towards speakers of non-English languages of any kind, whether you're talking about Spanish or Navajo.

The attitude seems specifically associated with the Spanish language, I must say. I've heard people comment about someone with a French accent, "How charming that is, how debonair, how savoir faire," but about someone with a Spanish accent they say, "Doesn't he know how to speak English? What's wrong with him?" So it reflects a whole sociolinguistic dynamic in this country. I don't want to go around yelling "racist" but that response is a reality. There are very few people willing to say they will go an extra mile to give extra support to an employee with a language handicap. At this point, from what I've seen, the tendency is for most prospective employers to say, "You'd better speak English if you want a job in our company." That's the way it looks.

MR. SANTIAGO: My point is that since we're looking for ways to get our people out of poverty and have more economic chances, can't we use the fact that the United States has trade with all parts of the world, that business needs people who are bilingual?

The tendency that I have found is for businesses to send an executive or a worker to Berlitz for four or five weeks and teach him--I'm not attacking Berlitz--lousy Spanish compared to what I know because I'm a native speaker of Spanish. I wonder why, if they need someone to go to South America or to Puerto Rico, a business ends up sending somebody who just learned Spanish at Berlitz instead of employing people for whom it's the native language.

I guess what I'm proposing is that it's part of the responsibility of the schools and organizations like NALEO to create an awareness among the business sector of the resource available in personnel whose native language is other than English. They don't need to spend tremendous amounts of money sending people to Berlitz to gain linguistic and cultural competence that is already staring them right in the face.

MARIA STOVA BOTSVALIS, Los Angeles: Getting back to teen pregnancy, I'd like to ask a question. Do you have any programs targeted to boys for making them responsible for birth control since their hormonal activity starts first?

MR. LA FONTAINE: Yes, we do. We have a limited program which we are really trying to bring to the attention of teenagers. One of our schools has a parent teen program with infants in the classroom, and students are programmed for the class just as they would be for any other. Instead of going to algebra or chemistry, you go to parenting class. There are up to nine babies in there who belong to students in the high school. Their mothers go there for period 2 and period 3, let's say. Then during periods 4 and 5 some other kids, including boys, come down to learn parenting skills.

That's the actual hands-on kind of experience of changing diapers and other wonderful things, but the whole sociological thing we're trying to teach is about the responsibility boys have. There's a little phrase I am not going to do justice to, but it is to the effect that any boy can make a baby, but it's the man that makes the family.

A lot of attention is put on the young ladies, but there are an awful lot of young men all over the place, enjoying themselves and not taking responsibility.

MR. WALKER: I was asked to mention that STEP has five demonstration sites in Seattle, Fresno, San Diego, Portland, and Boston, and a little over a quarter of the 3,000 participants in it are Hispanic youngsters. They have to get into the program, be eligible for JTPA, and be at least one and a half grades behind in school at the age of 14 or 15.

Afternoon Session

DR. PACHON: It's my pleasure to introduce the chairperson of the next panel, another Executive Director from an Hispanic organization with a long and productive history in our community.

Dr. Jane Delgado is President and Chief Executive Officer of the National Coalition of Hispanic Health and Human Services organizations, or COHSMO, a cross-cultural, multidisciplinary network with affiliated agencies and professionals serving Latino communities in the United States. As President, Dr. Delgado manages and administers all phases of program development, research, fund-raising, and public affairs.

Previously Dr. Delgado was a health policy advisor in the Office of the Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, where she developed and managed activities concerning minority health, mental health, and Hispanics.

She holds her doctorate in clinical psychology from the State University of New York, SUNY, at Stony Brook.

DR. DELGADO: I'm very glad to be here with all of you, especially because the topic of this workshop is community programs, and what I think is one of the foundations of community-based programs, funding.

Dr. Fernando Torres-Gil is a staff director for the House Committee on Aging and a board member of the Council on Foundations and the Viller's Foundation. He served previously as a Special Assistant to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Patricia Harris and HEW Secretary Joseph Califano.

He is currently on leave from the faculty of the University of Southern California. Dr. Gil holds a doctorate degree from Brandeis University. I want to add that he and I first met working on the Hispanic initiative back in 1979 in HHS. We still need those initiatives now.

DR. TORRES-GIL: I should say that Dr. Delgado and I worked on the Spanish Initiative, but it didn't really accomplish much until she took over. Thank you, Jane.

My role is to talk about the foundations and Latino children in poverty. In a sense, it's a situation of bad news, good news. The bad news is that foundations have not put a priority on funding initiatives or projects that benefit children, and Latino children in particular.

The good news is that there is a lot of potential for them to become interested in this issue, and I'm going to talk about how we might begin to get them involved.

First, let me make a couple of introductory comments. As Jane mentioned, I am with the House Aging Committee, and I work for Congressman Edward Roybal. At USC I'm an instructor/professor at the gerontology center, and much of what I have done professionally has been involved with geriatrics and aging.

By this point you should be asking about my interest in the younger end of the population and how it relates to aging. There is a very direct connection. I like to remind people that poor older persons have generally been poor younger persons; there is a very high correlation between poverty in old age and poverty in youth.

Turning it around, a young Latino child has a high probability of being a poor older person with few job skills and minimal or no retirement or pension coverage. Without educational training, socialization, and support services when they are young, they will grow up with a much higher probability of being poor in their old age.

The Chairman of our Aging Committee and I have as much concern about young Latinos and Latinas in poverty and their family situation as we do with older persons. If we're going to be talking about the future and preparing the Latino population to take their place in this society as they become the largest minority in the country, then we have to start when they are young. We want to increase the probabilities that they will be active participants in the political process and avoid the problems that older people face today.

Let me just shift gears and talk about that side of the age spectrum. As mentioned, I am on the Board of Directors of the Council on Foundations. It's a very important group because it represents the majority of the philanthropic and grant-giving organizations in this country. The large, major foundations, such as Ford, the Robert Woods Johnson Foundation, Carnegie, Rockefeller, are part of the Council on Foundations.

Now, the Council does not give money per se, although it does have its own discretionary funds and does fund many different types of projects. However, its main purpose is not to give grants. Rather, it's kind of a clearinghouse and a trade organization with its headquarters here in Washington, D.C.

Because it is a group with common concerns, the members lobby the Hill, share information, and try to work in unison. It becomes a very important forum and network to know about and be part of. One of the things I do encourage you to do is to use me, call me to influence other members of the board who happen to be the CEOs of most of these foundations.

I'm also a member of the Viller's Foundation, which concentrates on providing funding for organizations involved in public policy and aging groups and just recently, in the last month or so, I became a board member of Hispanics in Philanthropy.

Now, I'm giving you all of that not to show you that I'm dedicated or involved, but because it's important in gaining access foundations to tie in with their informal networks. Most of us who are service providers, professionals, or advocates have spent much of our energy developing our own networks and contacts with government, whether federal, the Department of Health and Human Services, the state, or local. We have spent much time getting to know people, drinking with people, socializing with people, developing the kind of connections that will assure us that our phone calls will be returned and that our grants and RFPs will be given serious attention.

The foundation world is a whole other planet, a whole other solar system, with its own unique behavior, connections, history, and personalities. I didn't realize that until I became a board member. I'm used to walking into aging organizations and conferences, going to HHS activities, and knowing at least half of the people in the room.

At the first board meeting of the Council on Foundations, I didn't know anyone, and it was strange being anonymous and not having any history with these people. It's taken two years to begin to develop it. It will take a little more time before I can call, for example, the head of Carnegie and not only get my phone call returned but be able to talk about a pet project I have, but things are beginning to move in that direction.

Let me make a few points about the scope of the problem. I think you all are well aware of this, and I won't go into it in any detail. Certainly we're well aware that the

Latino population is growing rapidly, will be the largest minority group some time after the turn of the century. We also know that it's incredibly diverse in terms of the geographic concentra-tion, linguistic assimilation, the diversities among Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, and Mexican Americans. And we're certainly well aware of serious problems in terms of educational levels, employment, the high percentage of single, young women with children, the high dropout rate, and we can go on and on.

But what is also well known, and we need to remind ourselves, is that the Latino population is still very young. Although it's beginning to increase its median age, it will continue to be a relatively young population at least until the year 2000. For the country as a whole, the median age right now is 32. For Latinos it's roughly 25, about 23 for Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans and slightly higher for Cubans.

So if any one group has a legitimate right to try to get foundations and other organizations to take the situation of childhood poverty seriously, it is certainly Latinos.

But going beyond that, if we need to begin to make a good case for these foundations, it is also important to lay out the relationship between the current plight of Latino young people and the future economic prosperity and productivity of this nation.

If it's one thing that foundations like to do, it's to feel they are on the cutting edge of resolving a problem--experimenting or demonstrating new and innovative approaches. It's difficult to keep going to them and saying, "We've suffered racism. Therefore, you should help us." It may be true, but they've heard it for 15 years from the Black organizations. By the time they hear it from Hispanics, the message has gotten a little tired. There has to be a new approach.

My committee, for example, is pointing out that the work force in this country is declining. As the number of older people grows, families are having fewer children and the available labor pool of young persons is beginning to decline. At the same time, however, the growth of Black and Hispanics as part of the labor pool is beginning to increase, and in the Southwest, Florida, the Midwest, and the New York area, Hispanics and Latino young people will become the primary element of the labor pool. It is going to be on their backs and minds that national production and prosperity will depend. By the year 2000, we will have up to 20 percent of the population retired. Guess who's going to have to be paying the taxes to support programs for them.

Therefore, it behooves not just the government but foundations to attempt to deal seriously with the educational, social, and employment problems and to begin to prepare the younger population not only for a better life, but also for a very important role in the high tech future after the year 2000.

This type of argument will get foundation attention. I would encourage you to refine the idea and use it to the extent that it's appropriate.

Now, what are the foundations doing in terms of responding to poverty among Latinos and young people in general? The long and short of it is, not much. There haven't been many research studies, but Mike Cortez, who has been associated with Hispanics in Philanthropy, has done some of the best work in this area, and so I'm going to steal some of his ideas. Cortez has brought together some of the few research studies to give us graphic documentation that foundations not only haven't done much, but in a sense are only just starting.

Research shows, for example, that less than one percent of funds awarded by private grant-making foundations go to agencies and projects primarily serving Hispanics, and even that figure may be somewhat high because of possible sampling errors. Now, that one percent, by the way, is just .2 of a percent higher than it was five years ago, and of those grants that have been awarded to Hispanics, most of them have come from just seven major national organizations.

The Carnegie Foundation, to their great credit, is one of the most prominent and generous foundations in terms of supporting Hispanic issues. It has helped to establish the Tomas Rivera Center at the Claremont Colleges. I believe it is also giving a little money to Dr. Delgado's projects. The Rockefeller Foundation has also given money to the National Council of La Raza (NCLR).

But only seven foundations account for three-fourths of all the grants to Hispanics, and less than a quarter of all foundations listed in the Foundation Grant Index made any grants to organizations primarily representing or serving Hispanics. Of the amount that is granted, most goes to national organizations, with very little going to regional or local community-based agencies or programs serving Hispanics.

Now, that is not to criticize the monies that COHSMO and NCLR and LULAC have obtained. It is to their great credit that they have been able to establish contacts and learned how to work in the system. But we still have the problem that when major foundations give money, for purposes of expediency or other reasons, they tend to look at national organizations.

Now, there are many more foundations at the local level. For example, the Beverly Foundation and the Oracle Foundation and a whole host of others primarily serve organizations in the Los Angeles area. The San Francisco Foundation concentrates on agencies and services in the San Francisco Bay area. In any local area, you will have a regional Council on Foundations with its own board of directors that represents the foundations concentrating on that area. Though we don't really have any data about how much they serve Hispanic groups or organizations, we can guess fairly easily that they give little, if any, although there are probably exceptions.

Though there isn't much grant giving from foundations, with notable exceptions, there certainly are tremendous opportunities for them to get involved in Hispanic issues. You could go right down the list: Hispanic dropout rates, the shortage of teachers, immigration services, youth employment programs, the extreme high poverty rates among female headed, single parent families. All these kinds of problems mean opportunities for foundations to get involved and make a difference.

But there are a couple of problems facing grant-makers we need to take into account. This is not to say that I have the answer, but I hope to give you some clues about how to get access to and influence foundations. First, the most important groups are probably regional and local foundations, but they're the ones that are most likely to lack experience in working with Hispanic communities.

Like any other network or group, a lot of it comes down to the "good ol' boy," "good ol' girl" network, whom you know and how you know them, who you socialize with, whose fundraisers you go to. Again, it's important for you to identify the regional Council on Foundations in your area, get involved, and start making calls.

Secondly, as we well know, many local

Hispanic organizations either lack the experience or sophistication to seek out the staff and members of a particular foundation. This is not to say that it is difficult getting money from foundations. One of the nice things about working with foundations is that it's a whole lot easier getting their money once you know the system than it is to get it from the federal government. You go through much less paper work and complications submitting an abstract or concept paper to a foundation than you do responding to an RFP from the Department of Health and Human Services.

So the good news is, once you've got the contact and you know whom to call, you know what you're asking for and the particular priorities of a foundation, in general, it's easier to go through the system and much quicker to get a turnaround in terms of response.

As I mentioned earlier, philanthropists and Hispanics generally do not know each other. There are a number of foundations who tend to be skittish about getting involved in local groups because they hear about the politics and conflicts and tensions that sometimes happen in the Hispanic political world. Be that as it may, we have to be sensitive to the fact that they may be somewhat uncomfortable and engage in an educational process.

There is also a history of some of these foundations having had conflict and tensions with Black organizations. On the other hand, once a foundation starts giving a group money, it tends to stick with them, which reduces the available pools of money. We're in competition with other ethnic and minority groups, and we just have to be very sensitive about that.

Let me just encourage you to get to know these foundations, get to know the staff, and also, for those of you who have the time and the energy, get yourselves appointed as trustees. It's not an altogether easy process, but it can be done, and it is important to at least begin to get involved in some of their advisory groups. I'm certainly more than willing to talk to any of you in terms of the kinds of contacts that I'm developing with the foundations I have mentioned. I hope this has given you some useful information.

I would also encourage you to get to know Hispanics in Philanthropy, which is a national, voluntary association of foundation trustees and foundation staff. Its chair is Christina Cuevas and its direction is Alicia Diane de Garcia, in the San Francisco area. It's probably the single best source to go to in terms of getting to know who's who in the whole foundation world.

It's been a pleasure talking to you.

DR. DELGADO: I'm the next presenter. My name is Jane Delgado, and I'm the President of COHSMO. My topic is innovative community-based health care programs for Hispanic children in poverty. Given the presentations earlier today, I think I'm going to give an overview of Hispanic health because my constant battle is to bring Hispanic health issues onto the national agenda.

Fernando mentioned foundations. When foundations think about Hispanics, they think about bilingual ed, immigration, and economic development. Health is not something they usually consider. An exception is the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, which recently completed a survey of access to health care. They found, and I'm going to quote from them because it's something we've been saying for a very long time but it was important to hear it from them, that "Unlike previous access surveys, which found Hispanics only slightly worse off than the national average, the 1986 survey found a considerable deterioration in this situation."

Let's examine some of the characteristics they described. What were they talking about? People without a regular source of health care: 16.3% of non-Hispanic Whites, 20.1 percent of Blacks, and 30.1 percent of Hispanics. People without health insurance: 7.7 percent of non-Hispanic Whites, 10.1 percent of Blacks, 21.7 percent of Hispanics. These are national figures. Usually the number that you may hear is that 29 percent of Mexican Americans have no health insurance, either public or private, but if we look nationally at all of the Hispanic populations, we find 21.1 percent have no health insurance. People in fair or poor health: 10.6 percent of non-Hispanic Whites, 15.3 percent of Blacks, 19.4 percent of Hispanics.

Now, given all of this, what are the major health issues? What's going on with our population? Those of you who know me know I always talk about the lack of data, because, whether you're writing a needs statement for a foundation or for the government, they want to know numbers. They want to know how many Hispanics have this illness, how many Hispanics have that problem. We lack basic national data on births and deaths of Hispanics because the national model for birth and death certificates does not include a Hispanic identifier. However, starting in 1988, those data will begin to be collected by those states who opt to follow the national standard.

If we don't have those kinds of basic data, what other kinds of information can we be looking for on health in Hispanics? We look at major national surveys although there, also, very often Hispanics are not counted. We hear a lot about drug abuse and young people and we know that drug abuse is not a new problem in the Hispanic population. However, if we look at national surveys it's hard to find Hispanics. The major study is called The Senior Survey, looking at high school seniors, which means that given the dropout rate for the Hispanic populations, our kids aren't going to show up.

Another problem is that a national sample takes people from all over the country to represent the way the total population looks. However, Hispanics generally are concentrated in several states so that when they do national samples and national surveys, unless they do special procedures, they cannot make statements about us. We're systematically left out of these processes.

Okay. We lack data. That means that when I sat on a foundation review panel and several Hispanic proposals got knocked out because they didn't have prevalence data for illness in Hispanic populations, I had to explain to my other committee members why they don't have the data. It wasn't ignorance on the part of the applicant. Data don't exist.

Another problem of providing health care for Hispanic children in poverty is access. This is particularly important and has to do with what Robert Wood Johnson found out. The Medicaid program is supposed to be a major provider of health care services for poor mothers and children. However, it isn't working that way. First of all, the bulk of the money, close to two-thirds, of Medicaid goes towards long-term care. That's not mothers and children.

Another problem is that the states can decide how much you can earn to be eligible for Medicaid. If you look at Medicaid payments, Texas was 49th, which means that the numbers of Hispnaics participating in the program were very small. The last time I looked, in order to be eligible for Medicaid in Texas, you had to be 75 percent below the poverty line. Hispanics in Texas are generally working, but they work in jobs that don't give them private health insurance. But they make too much to qualify for public insurance.

Another problem, besides paying for health services, is finding appropriate people to treat our mothers and children. Often medical professionals have little or no experience with Hispanic families and do not know how to communicate with Hispanic children, and I'm not talking just language. The personal approach is very important when you're working with Hispanic mothers and children, and a lot of our people looking for services come in contact with health institutions that aren't prepared to serve them.

If we look at major health areas of Hispanics, we have limited information from different parts of the country. For COHSMO, being a national organization, trying to provide a national agenda, is a constant battle because, since we don't have national figures, we have to piece things together.

General maternal and child health problems appear to be adolescent pregnancy, alcohol and substance abuse, which includes smoking and AIDS. On a more limited basis, we have found out that ear infection for young Hispanic children is a major problem. We don't know why.

We have no good figures on Hispanic infant mortality for several reasons. First, as I said, the number of Hispanics who are born or die aren't separately counted. So national figures on infant mortality aren't available.

If we look at low birth weight, which is a predictor of infant mortality, we find that Mexican American mothers and Cuban mothers have the same rate of low birth weight as non-Hispanic White mothers. Very interesting finding. We have two populations with different incomes. Yet the babies have the same risk of dying. With Puerto Rican mothers who have the least income of any minority, we still find that their rate of low birth weight is less, considerably less, than for Blacks. So something is happening there, but how our infants are born is not a major problem for us. There are other things going on. One is a high incidence of diabetes during pregnancy for Mexican-American mothers. Mothers who get diabetic during pregnancy have big, heavy babies, not low birth weight babies. We have to be careful that when we look at the health problems of our children we don't look at the wrong things. Our tendency is to build on what we previously knew, and it may not be relevant.

The last major problem in health issues is inappropriate infrastructures, and this is something to which we are extremely sensitive. Very often the health care models developed for Hispanics are based on the infrastructures existing in the Black communities. Black communities have a network of historically Black colleges. They have Black medical schools. They have many Black health professionals. Often when the federal government developed policies for minority groups, they would use the Black model and would tack on "and Hispanics." But since we don't have that network, we don't have the access to health care professionals we need.

The outcome of all of this is that in order to really have good programs for Hispanics, since we don't have these universal structures, we must have community-based programs. Close to three-quarters of our budget, if not 80 percent, goes to communities to run programs, because we find there are two ways to do national models.

One national model is taken from our adolescent pregnancy program, in which we ran focus groups around the country to see what the different communities wanted us to do. Our communities were diverse: Boston, Miami, Albuquerque, San Antonio, Los Angeles. We went and talked to people to see that they wanted.

The process is to implement a program and then tailor it, take in a lot of feedback from the communities about what didn't work and what did. So even though the scope is national, the community has to have the input about what the program will look like and how it will be implemented. If you don't have that input, it's bound to fail.

Our adolescent pregnancy program is unique because rather than working with teenagers, we worked with parents. We found out that often the parents wanted to take the primary responsibility for the sex education of their children. After five years of research, we are also in the process of developing a program with a pre-adolescent component. As part of that, we're saying, "Let's not just teach kids about sexuality. Let's teach them about health care, how they can better take care of themselves, not only because it's good for them and their parents to know, but also because young Hispanic children are likely to be responsible for younger Hispanic children and this way the education has a multiplier effect.

I will say that the interesting things we are doing are mostly funded by corporations. Sorry about that, to our government friends.

Our next national model is our sexual abuse/child abuse program, which is run in 11 sites throughout the country. That model was unique because what we sold to the federal government was the idea that child abuse and sexual abuse is a problem for Hispanics, too. However, our goal was to let each community decide what it wanted to do, which is very different because usually when you apply for federal monies, the government wants everyone to do exactly the same thing. In this instance we were able to work it so that our community programs are doing extremely diverse things. One community is working with the police department and getting them to know about Hispanic issues and how to do cross-cultural training. Another community, Houston, saw that their major need was to have Hispanic foster care homes. So our site got certified to license foster care homes, and they would recruit Hispanic families so they would have places to put abused children.
In another site, where the need was very basic, they actually had count incidents, what's going on in the Hispanic community in terms of child abuse and sexual abuse.

A third type of activity we do is material development. We include input from people around the country to present a balance position. Very often what people have developed in one community can work somewhere else if they just tailor it slightly. That's what we try to encourage people to do so that in the diversity of our Hispanic population, people see a real strength. That is what we try to build on.

If people are going to develop community-based programs, we suggest they go to the communities early in the process. They have to include parents and professionals. They have to build on projects that already exist there.

In other words, community involvement cannot be an appendage. It has to be a part of the mission of the project and has to be incorporated in everything that people do.

One of the other mistakes we try to avoid by carefully assessing the situation is duplicating services. Considering the few resources that actually go to our many communities, it's a waste to do that.

A philosophical point is if you're going to have people be part of a health program, you should offer them something. For example, we have a program on diabetes, and people will get free screening for diabetes as a part of it. It's a risk reduction program for adults and they get some sort of health care, some sort of benefit out of it. It's very nice for a national organization like COHSMO to develop programs in connection with local people and try to get monies for local communities, but it's most important to build up community-based organizations.

I think if people keep that in mind and our federal officials understand the complexities and the rewards of doing that, we'll be better off in the kinds of health programs we provide for our children.

DR. DELGADO: Our next speaker, Ms. Olvera Stotzer, is the immediate past national President of the Comision Femenil Mexicana Nacional, Los Angeles, California. While with the Comision, she started three community-based projects for women. She is currently the President of New Economics for Women, an economic development corporation working to build low income housing for single parents, which will include on-site job development and day care.

She holds a Master's degree in public science, and has played a very active role in getting Latinos elected to political office.

MS. OLVERA STOTZER: Buenas tardes. First, I think it's absolutely wonderful that we're here to discuss meeting the needs of children and, by having an open forum, to address more effectively the ever-increasing needs of Latinos in the United States. What you have heard today reflects a problem of such magnitude that we have to bring all of our resources to bear on it. Moreover, the problems facing our Latino population in the United States are probably going to be exacerbated by global economic and political issues.

Sam Salle, the Chicago-based real estate syndicator, pinpointed the problem I think. He said that the United States economy is no longer domestically controlled. It is world dominated and financed by the yen, the mark, gold, and then the dollar.

Anthony Downs, an economist and senior fellow at the Brooking Institute and former chair of the Real Estate Research Corporation, said at a symposium last month in San Francisco that globalization of our economy has set in. The present status of the United States as the world's largest debtor nation means our children's future is mortgaged.

He also said that the United States is facing a two-pronged problem. Twenty-five percent of the children facing this problem in the future will be Black and Latino. They must be given quality education in order to assure their future economic viability and thereby the economic health of our nation.

In addition, our present global and national economic policies are indifferent to the needs of women. Teenage pregnancy is a perfect example. Indifference will only maintain the current structures that perpetuate poverty by allowing unequal access to resources.

What do I mean by "unequal access"? Let's look globally in terms of the status of women. United Nations statistics show that women, by accident of birth, perform two-thirds of the world's work, receive one-tenth of the income, and own less than one-hundredth of the world's property. Two-thirds of the women of the world are illiterate. Women grow over 50 percent of the world's food. In Africa women produce 80 percent of all the food consumed on that continent. Yet one-half of one percent of all United Nations allocations are devoted to programs for rural women.

If we bring the problem home to the United States, all we need to do is look at the budget. That's the easiest measure of a nation's priorities. For the years 1980 through 1988, military spending has increased 50.5 percent, while discretionary domestic spending has decreased 26.7 percent.

The current administration for fiscal year 1988 has requested an increase of $15.4 billion for defense spending, along with a decrease of $21 billion of discretionary domestic spending to deal with the deficit.

The proposal has been made to spend $440 billion on anti-satellite weapons and cut $468 billion from AFDC programs. The administration proposed to give $105 million to Contra aid, and cut $103 million of work incentive programs for poor women.

Finally, and I think this is the best example, the administration has proposed to cut $21 million of temporary food assistance for poor families, an amount which constitutes 40 minutes of Pentagon spending.

Though it doesn't surprise me, one underlying question which has not been asked in this conference is: What is it about policy-makers and, for that matter, the political process that makes the elimination of poverty such a low priority in our national interests? I believe that the political culture dictates that government avoid interfering with economy or social relations. Therefore, we tend to avoid policies that conflict with larger economic goals. That's why we fund nuclear arms and Star Wars rather than child care or quality education.

It doesn't help that decision-makers are predominantly male, upper middle class, and therefore likely to view poverty as a temporary setback of the worthy poor. Things will eventually get better.

They're not getting better, folks.

We also have a great faith in the business sector to deal with the things that the federal government lets fall through the cracks. It isn't enough. When national political leaders don't concentrate on the issues of mothers and children, we will continue to have feminization of poverty. Upper middle class women, when they get divorced, can become poor quite quickly because we don't deal with the issues of women.

I also believe that the standards we set for middle class institutions, the policies and procedures we develop for middle class institutions, are not demanded of institutions that deal with the poor. A perfect example is the federal employment and training, programs, CETA, that have done little to enhance the status of women.

In CETA, women are enrolled in the lowest paying jobs and provided the poorest training programs. It has been documented that this trend has continued in the Job Partnership Training Act.

Fernando mentioned that corporations and foundations basically ignore Latinos. But even better, all that one percent that he talked about went to national men's organizations.

In 1985, if I remember correctly, I put together a symposium of national Latino presidents, and we found among six national Latino organizations we received less than $100,000 for institutional support. That's a perfect example.

Given the sexist and institutional barriers, Latino community organizations have to be very resourceful and very innovative. Comision Femenil is such an organization, I believe. We are the only national Latino organization that starts community-based projects and community-based organizations to go on independently by themselves.

Before we venture into any project or program, it has to meet several criteria. One, the program has to upgrade the status of women and therefore, we believe, the status of the whole family.

Two, the program must be specifically designed to meet an unmet need. Three, it must be a model that can be duplicated by other women. Four, it must be supported financially by a cross-section of the community, which means that we don't just talk among ourselves, but that we develop a great number of supporters.

Let me highlight a couple of our projects. When I was President of the Comision, we started Casa Victoria One. We found out that in the State of California there was not one residential home that treated bilingual and bicultural young Latino girls who had come to the attention of the juvenile court system, not one, though Latinos are 23 percent of the California population.

Casa Victoria is a six-bed residential group home. During the first year we served 28 girls. Each girl had to agree, and her family had to agree, to go through family therapy. We have an 85 percent success rate, the highest in the State of California.

Casa Victoria is successful because the girl and her family go through therapy. The girls are provided with positive role models. They go to a variety of cultural events. They have to attend school, and they have to agree that they're going to start a job or go on to college when they graduate. They attend special drug and alcohol abuse programs. The family members receive separate therapy because all but two of the girls have been sexually or physically abused.

The girls themselves determine the disciplinary standards and the awards that they want to give out, and, lastly, they are required to participate in a community activity that helps poor children. Casa Victoria is an excellent model and we're looking to duplicate it in the rest of the state.

One of the other projects that we started, our first project in 1972, was the Chicano Service Action Center (CESACS). To date we have served 36,000 women and men in untraditional employment placement. We provide child care and a family crisis center. Chicano has two battered women centers for Latinas and Native American women.

CESACS first assesses skills level and then provides training to upgrade skills. One of the goals is to place clients in jobs that pay no less than $15 an hour because child care is so costly. We want our clients to succeed and to go on succeeding.

Chicano Service Action Center, after three years in the Comision, is now a separate community-based organization. They are a nonprofit charitable, educational organization [501(c)(3)]. Casa Victoria is not.

Centro de Ninos was started in 1974. The program serves 120 children with subsidized child care annually. It was the first bilingual, bicultural child care center in L.A., and it was started because there were no child care centers for working women in L.A. Centro is innovative, and I want to emphasize this, because we pay the parents to consult. Most of them come from various Central American and Asian countries. They're paid $10 an hour to tell staff how to run their program by developing a glossary of terms in their native language so that, for instance, the teacher knows "botella" usually means doll if they come from Central America

The parents teach staff how to build native toys to reinforce cultural identity, and also to develop disciplinary guidelines and carry out discipline with the children.

Quality control is an important part of the Centro de Ninos program. Once the child graduates into kindergarten, staff asks the kindergarten teacher to determine whether Centro did a good job in providing the skills necessary for success in kindergarten and, hopefully, thereafter. That written evaluation is given to Centro as well as to the parent.

Lastly, New Economics for Women was started by the past national presidents of Comision. It's also a separate [501(c)(3)] organization because we found out that in East Los Angeles and the country as a whole there were no economic development corporations dealing with the housing issues of single parents, which means women. Most public housing is "project designed." That means, you know, 10 or 30 or 40 stories high, with no environment for family living and very, very dangerous for children.

We have received seed money from the United Way, and we're going to build units with an appropriate physical design for families. If it's an apartment, it means windows in the hallways so that mothers can watch their children. There will be high security and child care provision on site. It's a very different concept of housing--a holistic rather than a fragmented design.

And, lastly, I hope that what I have presented has opened your eyes to the female perspective. I think common sense tells us that men inherently view the world differently, and as a result, what we have is an extremely unbalanced situation. But the thing that makes this country great, I believe, is that we pursue balance and we pursue justice. I hope you go away with a better balance when you talk about poverty policy. I hope you think balance when you get out of here today.

DR. DELGADO: Carmen Cortez is the Director of Programs for AVANCE, Incorporated, a private, nonprofit organization which has provided family support services to San Antonio, Texas since 1973. AVANCE is a program which has had a great deal of success with women and their children.

Recently, AVANCE's Executive Director was in Parade Magazine. It's not often that we as a community get that kind of recognition. Let's have Carmen Cortez come up here.

MS. CARMEN CORTEZ: It's an honor for me to be among such a distinguished group, the panelists and members of the audience. I am very concerned today, concerned that only the tip of the iceberg of Latino child poverty is visible as an issue. I am concerned also because, instead of life getting better for Hispanics, in too many instances it's worsening, especially for our children. We must try to reverse this trend against over-whelming odds.

At the same time we're challenged to make projections. Our conference is a positive occasion, giving us the opportunity to mobilize, with our actions based on the information about Hispanic children in poverty. What I have heard so far has been very enlightening and potentially very useful. The programs we are hearing about offer practical suggestions for reversing negative trends. That's why I'm here, to offer a practical community-based initiative to address the needs which have been statistically and theoretically established.

Before I talk about AVANCE, I have to

mention that policies affecting family life and funds for supporting family life issues are a major concern in the field. Without money and support, all of our great ideas, our previous track records, our commitment and know-how, are for naught. We cannot deliver services to the people without resources from the local, state, and federal levels, and the private sector. So that's a big burden on our back at the field level.

We all have to work at strengthening and promoting a continuum of communication and action extending all the way from the community-based service delivery system to the congressional legislative subcommittees.

All of us here at this conference have some very urgent and serious tasks to tackle on behalf of Hispanic children.

One of those tasks is the role of education. There's ample information on the educational status of Hispanics and its implications for our children's economic future and quality of life. But from the social service and mental health perspective, we also need to emphasize the correlation between low educational achievement and other problems affecting our youth: teen pregnancy, juvenile delinquency, substance abuse, runaways.

Research has demonstrated that the school experience, along with family life and self-esteem, is a strong determinant of these problems' occurrence. Among children in poverty, these problems have devastating and long-lasting effects. While for some youth these problems may be a passing phase, for Hispanic poor children all too often the problems have escalated to a more severe level. We see low birth weight and birth defective babies born to teen moms, child abuse, and neglect due to premature parenthood, criminal behavior, addiction, prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases.

In many instances, if only these kids had experienced success in school, their life would have been different, and related to success in school are the overrepresented statistics of poor Hispanic children with learning delays and disabilities. It's obvious that environment takes its toll on the "have nots" of our society who must have what little money there is for education invested in remedial and compensatory programs, alternative schools, and other public school efforts to help their kids catch up. For the most part, these educational experiences have a negative impact on children and are often predictors of dropouts.

Seldom is there money for enrichment and enhancement. The dropout information available today looks at youth once they hit the ninth grade, but again, that's only the tip of the iceberg.

Those of us in the field who work with poor parents, particularly Hispanic women, know that probably most of them don't even get far enough in school to become a statistic as a high school dropout. What's worse is that this is a generational problem. Their parents dropped out and grandparents.

What are the chances for success for these children? Without intervention, it's about the same as the parents'. The cycle of poverty and school dropouts will continue if there is no intervention, and these problems aren't going to fix themselves by luck or by chance or by advocacy or pouring more money into public education. I'm here to say that the connection has to be made where it all starts, in the home and in the family.

In 1973 the Zale Foundation of Dallas, Texas gave AVANCE seed money to work with the high-risk Hispanic population to decrease the disproportionately high level of school dropouts. The theory was that by educating the parent on how to educate the child, building an adequate learning foundation, the likelihood of school failure would be decreased. That's how the AVANCE community-based education initiative began in San Antonio, with a very simple, logical program involving both the parent and the child at the AVANCE Center once a week for three hours.

The AVANCE parent-child education program is a nine-month parenting education model that is highly structured, predictable, and consistent; it holds high but realistic expectations for each participant. First, it provides an agency-developed curriculum on early childhood growth and development and on the role of the parent. Units cover the cognitive, social, emotional, and physical needs of children and how parents should meet those needs in order for their children to grow up healthy and competent.

The information presented is relevant and practical in the lives of those taking the classes. Parents are inculcated with the belief that they are their child's first and most important teacher.

A second activity which heightens the parents' awareness of the learning taking place during their children's formative years is toy-making. Through it, parents realize the importance of play in learning, how children are natural scientists, explorers, and experimenters if only they are provided with a stimulating and safe environment where normal play and inquiry can take place.

Materials are provided for parents to complete a toy every week, with the projects derived from an agency-developed toy-making manual. The toy-making hour allows parents to interact with other adults like them at a very informal level. Trusting relationships are formed, and a sense of group identity is developed. For many parents, it's the first time that they accomplish a task of which they are proud.

Thirdly, parents are empowered by learning about community resources--how, when, and where to get access to them. This information, and discussions about it, begins to decrease the parents' sense of helplessness and hopelessness. It is based on the theory that in order for an adult to be able to help a child, he must first feel and know that he can help himself.

While the parents are being immersed in their own learning experiences, their children are also being exposed to an enriching and nurturing separate environment. They are provided a meal. They get developmental and health pre-screening, and any suspected problems are immediately tended to. The parents are helped to understand the problem and how it can be corrected.

Support and encouragement are provided constantly. Some of the parents and previous program graduates are offered stipends to help meet the adequate adult-child ratios determined to be necessary from past experience. Adult supervision and stimulation are also provided by having participants volunteer as child care providers at least 12 times during the nine-month period.

Other center-based activities include field trips for parents, with and without their children, and special trips for the children also. Holiday celebrations contribute much to learning how to enjoy life and yet have fun with children.

Participating parents develop a tremendous sense of trust and security with the AVANCE staff. These parents, many of whom experienced emotional deprivation in early childhood, are nurtured constantly by the staff so that they, in turn, can nurture and bond with their child. Parents are made to feel important by a very caring and committed staff, who even take special notice when the parents are late or absent from class.

This relationship based on compassion and concern allows for effective referral and counseling when crises occur in the lives of the parents. In addition, the high level of participation--usually 10 to 20 parents in class daily--would not be possible without transportation to and from class. Parents can attend the program with all of their children still at home, and sometimes this means traveling with four children under age four.

Besides the center-based activities, parents are observed in the home setting playing with their child. The observation is recorded on a special form and discussed with the parent.

In addition, video films are taken of the child and the parent in a playing activity, and these tapes are discussed with the parent and brought back to class and discussed by everyone in class.

An element which makes a difference in the service delivery is the staff. Every one of the 18 staff members who belong to this program, with one exception, is from the target community, and all para-professionals have graduated from the program. There's a tremendous amount of empathy, ownership, and leadership emerging from within the masses.

Perhaps this is one of the reasons that after the parents graduate from the parent-child education program, many want to continue coming to AVANCE. Some have perceived this as creating dependency. Others interpret this as AVANCE serving as a support group in parents' lives. All of us need support. Many of us are fortunate to get that support in good times and in bad from our spouses, friends, relatives, and colleagues. Generally the parents served by AVANCE aren't that fortunate. They need a place to go, someone they can turn to. That's why the AVANCE continuing services has evolved through the years.

As children grow and change, so do the needs of parents. They need to learn how to deal effectively with their children's development. This phase of the parenting education model is still being developed. Classes have been offered in the afternoon and evenings at the Center for parents, including dads, with school-age children. Classes have been offered in the elementary schools for parents right after they leave their kids off or right before they're going to pick them up.

The next level of parenting is for the adolescent period. If parents and children have had a positive relationship up to that point, the teenage years will be easier to continue with and may even be enjoyable. But the foundation for that period will have been laid much earlier, during the preschool and pre-teen years.

Through the years we've had to come to realize that parents need support, information, and encouragement in parenting their school-age, preteen and teenage children. It's not enough to just make available a birth to three years old program. Support for the parental role needs to be made available throughout all stages of childhood and parenthood. Through the years, AVANCE has also had to face other difficult realities.

About five years ago a formal needs assessment survey of the target population confirmed that economic stressors were significantly impinging upon effective parenting. We had to recognize that there were forces weakening our efforts and diluting our effects. How can a parent stay calm and collected when the welfare check is late or the husband has been laid off or the food stamps are stolen?

We had to accept the fact that parents have to be offered opportunities to dig themselves out of their economic rut. Parents have to commit themselves to reach higher aspirations and expectations for themselves and their children by beginning to improve their chances of making more money, but the chances of their getting more money are next to nothing if they stay in their same routines.

What do they have to do to turn that around? As was mentioned this morning, the answer lies in education. The cold truth is that neither our parents nor their children are going to improve their economic situation without getting more education and some training for half-decent jobs.

The process for educational and economic development was initiated about five years ago. We start at the very bottom by offering ESL, basic skills and literacy classes, and GED, but that isn't enough to qualify for decent wages and jobs with some semblance of advancement possibilities. We have to go further.

College courses for the parents in the target community have been made available since we became an off-campus site for a local community college. Opportunities to attend technical and vocational training also exist.

High school dropouts who couldn't succeed in the alternative schools are attending AVANCE GED classes. Parents who failed miserably in school or who simply never had a chance to realize their potential are doing well in college. There's a ripple effect. As individuals are transformed, families are changed. The quality of life is improved. Neighborhoods are affected, and eventually entire communities are upgraded.

You may be saying, how can they go wrong with so many support services at their fingertips? There are a lot of good models around, but what makes this community-based education initiative different from others is the population that we're serving. It's a population drenched in poverty.

In conducting a formal evaluation of the parent-child education program, birth to age three, we found that we typically serve an Hispanic female with children under the age of five who also has older children.

What are her chances for self-improvement with an eighth grade education and a mean income of $473 per month? What are the chances of the children succeeding when their mother suffers from depression or is constantly screaming or hitting or thinking she's sick, when she really isn't? What are the chances of children doing well in school when they come from a population where 99 percent of the parents are deficient in child growth and development knowledge and 91 percent are isolated from social networks?

The issue of success in education for Hispanics is a critical one, but unless we can see how it is related to the health of the total population and until we can perceive education for children as a responsibility to be shared by many at all different levels, programs for improving education will be hit and miss.

At AVANCE, community-based education provides the means for building competence in a population with a high propensity for failure. It is an at-risk, minority population. Although they enter the program shaped by the adverse effects of many debilitating conditions, we've come to admire and respect them because it's very obvious that there's a lot of wasted intelligence and talent among our people. We're trying to capitalize on these assets by providing an appropriate support system, primarily consisting of education for enhancing self esteem, skills in the parental role, and quality of life. The outcome of our program should be the development of competent individuals who are socially, emotionally, educationally, and economically stable.

On the basis of a formal evaluation survey conducted in 1981, there is now evidence that AVANCE is succeeding in the emotional and educational realms for parents. What is not known is the extent to which we're having an impact on children and how lasting the effects are of the early intervention. In the next three years, these questions will be explored through a formal research and evaluation project made possible through funding by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This new project will also be looking at what we can do to make the implementation of the AVANCE model work in such high-risk communities.

There's a lot to learn, a lot to do, a lot to share, and a lot to change. On behalf of AVANCE, I thank you for letting me be part of this process today.

Audience Discussion and Panel Response

DR. DELGADO: This is a fine opportunity for anyone who has questions to ask them. Don't you have questions? I thought we were so compelling.

MS. TORRES: Yes. My name is Ivette Torres, and I have my hat on today for the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women. One of the things you were talking about, Carmen, is one I couldn't agree with you more about. It relates to my other hat, the one under which I work with Jane in COHSMO as Vice President for Development. I get to travel throughout the country quite a bit and the format and the framework of the AVANCE program is really the nuts and bolts of what is necessary, not only in the Southwest but also, I think, in the Northeast. I want you to send a copy of your report to the Puerto Rican Coalition immediately because we talk about economic development, and getting women to go into the job market, but the majority of the women with children in poverty are not ready to get employment. There has to be a tremendous amount of family stabilization first.

My question is, given the fact that there is a limited network of Hispanic women's organizations, like Mexican American Women's National Association (MANNA) and National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse (NACOPRO) represented here, what do you see volunteer organizations doing in beginning to address the issue woman-to-woman? What can we do so that we don't just have to wait until we visit the city halls, until we visit the state? NACOPRO is looking into a state-wide program in the fall. We want to have a public affairs day and believe that the primary information we'll be providing local Congressmen will be on women and children in poverty. But beyond that, what do you see that we can do actively to address this issue?

MS. CORTEZ: This morning role models were discussed. To me that is a very important concept to use at the field level, at the local level. When you talk about women who can volunteer, many Hispanic women are not there yet. They must get to the point where they can say, "Okay. I can give," but that's after their immediate needs have been met. Some of us have gotten to the point where we are ready to volunteer, to give back to the community. We need volunteers to be role models.

Most volunteers are Junior League types and, although they mean well and they want to do well, it's hard for them to get into the Projects and give time in child care and clean noses and wipe bottoms and do seminars that women can really relate to.

So I see that we as Hispanic women have to go back and reach to our sisters who haven't quite made it and accept the fact there are still a lot of obstacles to overcome, and sometimes it's not going to be done overnight. We have to be patient and just keep at it. But the women's groups are crucial for providing role models and inspiration and encouragement.

Through the COHSMO Project we did a role models for success booklet. We took 50 local personalities from the San Antonio community who were all Hispanic and all poor and had, many of them, been migrant workers. They struggled through school, and they're all extremely successful. We gave out the booklet to all our parents and our kids, and it's still being disseminated to groups who ask us for it. It is so important to reach back to those who haven't quite made it.

There's a big role for the Hispanic women's groups to play.

MS. OLVERA STOTZER: I think all I have to tell you, besides the fact that we need to be role models, is we need to stop talking only among ourselves. Unfortunately, I don't see enough white faces here or enough males to make an impact, but we have to as women stop talking among ourselves and realize that globally we'd rather make war than make babies, and that the babies we do make aren't assured too much of a future.

We have to look at global policy and understand that what affects Central America and South America comes right back to us. I mean, it's in East L.A., it's all over. Latinos have increased dramatically here in the United States because of war in San Salvador and Colombia and other areas in Central America. We're all interconnected.

And women's issues are men's issues. There is no distinction because if a woman bears children and is faced with the dilemmas of poverty, you're going to have a human society that is faced with the dilemmas of poverty. As women we have to stop being myopic in our approaches, as do men. We have to be humanistic and understand that our children's future will be very bleak unless we change our ways.

DR. DELGADO: Any more questions?

FROM THE FLOOR: I was wondering about advocacy and analysis. When you have a program that's successful, if you look at it in terms of total need of the population, usually you're serving a very small part. There's always the issue of replication. How do you encourage replication of successful programs on a wider scope? Or will a program that works in a particular neighborhood with a certain number of people get totally out of whack if you give it over to some government bureaucracy? Are there ways of disseminating ideas and working in coalitions with other nonprofits?
It seems like a real dilemma because when I go to conferences I hear about very good programs, really neat programs, just like today, but we don't seem to get them out there on a mass basis because the problems we're talking about are so overwhelming. Can you make a few comments on that? Have you had to grapple with that issue?

DR. DELGADO: I'm going to start with that one because it's one of the major problems we face. COHSMO does a lot of national programs, and we have as an internal policy that unless people give us money to have, at least, a replication manual and hopefully money for replication, it's not worth it.

The problem is that most people think that if you have a good program, it doesn't cost money to replicate it. I think even in terms of the basics, it costs money to replicate everything. If I have one dress and want a second dress, even though I know what the dress looks like and have the fabric, I still need someone to help me sew.

I think that's the problem when it comes to replication; people think it can be done for free. We are constantly fighting that battle.

In our adolescent program, we started with five sites and have expanded to eight. We're looking for corporate money so that more COHSMO members who are interested in the adolescent pregnancy program can start one.

We also work a lot with our sites to make sure that they continue getting funding. With our child abuse-sexual abuse, we started out with eight sites. We now have 12. So there are things that are done, but I see money as the major issue.

MS. OLVERA STOTZER: We have been able to replicate, but not in terms of empowering women on skills. Maybe replication is not the right word, but I can't think of a better one. In terms of the Comision's work, we have been extremely successful in helping women take leadership roles.
A perfect example is teen pregnancy. We're part of the coalition of Childwatch. When the Board of Supervisors put together a task force, because of our presence in the coalition we are now developing a program for boys and their responsibility for birth control, putting our money there instead of into pregnancy prevention for girls.

So we don't deal with replication other than to make sure our programs provide the necessary skills because the communities we serve are very different. In Los Angeles, we're a 90 miles square radius, and a program in East L.A. will not work if you put it into Pacoima. They have the same characteristics. The difference is the level of poverty.

So each community has to work a program from the ground up, not from the top down. Their basic point in common is development of skills.

MS. CORTEZ: The issue of replication has been facing AVANCE for many years because when we make a presentation about it people say, "Well, we have the same kinds of problems, the same kinds of people. Now how can we replicate it?" Money is a big problem.

The other problem is not so much a problem as an issue that we haven't dealt with as an Hispanic organization primarily involved in providing services. We don't take time to write down what we're doing and record what makes it work, what makes it tick, what makes the difference. Hopefully, through the Carnegie grant, we're going to have researchers breathing down our necks and recording everything and how we're doing. A replication manual will be available after the grant is over, but it's something that we usually don't take time to do. We don't even think about what it is we're doing that makes things work. That's an area that needs a lot of developing, especially among delivery of services to people.

FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to comment on that. The replication process is a little difficult. We are running a program here in Washington, D.C., addressing a group that really hasn't been terribly well identified. It's an early intervention service for Hispanic children with disabilities in day care programs. This is a tremendous need because their parents are working at very low level, minimal paying jobs. There is no way they can take their child to treatments even if treatments are available.

Also, the treatments that are available are generally not bilingual. And nobody wants to touch the ages zero to three population. So our program, with all of these problems, is having trouble getting continuing funding grants. Once you have this wonderful program, it's very, very difficult to keep it going because there's no base of support.

The problem is keeping going and finding funding at the same time with a minimal staff and then also being concerned with replication.

Part of our grant was to write a replication manual, but, in all honesty, though we will do the best we can to get it out, with everybody doing so many things and a limited staff, it won't have the kind of input to make it really worthwhile, I'm afraid.

There is a real problem of getting continuing funding to keep programs going so that you can then replicate them also.

RUDY GARCIA: I've got a question because, from reading some of the advanced notices on this conference, I had the impression that part of its purpose was to galvanize people into action and raise consciousness.

Now, we've heard a lot of statistics that we could have gotten without having to come to Washington, and we've heard about some very nice programs, but I have to say if every one of the programs we've heard about were replicated one thousand times, I think we'd still be short because one of the first statistics I saw was that we have 2.9 million Latino children in poverty in the United States. We also have a U.N. study that says that the population south of the border of the United States is going to duplicate by the year 2005, which is going to put a whole bunch of pressure on millions more to come across the border over the next 15 years or so.

What I'd like to ask is how we're going to go about getting a massive response to a very massive kind of problem, one on a larger scale than 6 beds here and 20 beds there.

I'm at a loss. I came down here hoping for suggestions beyond the attacks we all can make on the current administration about their lack of concern. It seems to me that NALEO, made up of Latino elected and appointed officials, would be at least one place to start in terms of coming up with some rather concrete legislation or policy on these issues.

DR. DELGADO: Let me start the answer. I'm sure that other panelists have a lot to add.

First of all, I've been in Washington now for eight years, and the fact that this conference is even taking place is a major event for us as an Hispanic community in this country.

MR. GARCIA: We ought to beat ourselves to death, then, if that's the case.

DR. DELGADO: No. I think we have to look at the system which has made it so that now, in 1987, a conference like this is a first. I saw that Harry put everything as the first conference. Well, I'm looking forward to the second, and the third, and hopefully in each one we'll grow. The way people respond to issues is by seeing the force of presenters, the kinds of programs which have been successful, and the initiative which has been taken.

Every organization which is here is working on some sort of legislation and policy directive at both the state and federal levels but, to be honest, the important thing is to get our troops here for a kind of conference like this to show that these are our people, these are our strengths; it is our time now.

MS. OLVERA STOTZER: I don't think that there is an answer other than to tell you that as a poorly educated people living in a country whose priority is militarization and whose policy makers are predominantly male, we're not going to eradicate poverty. All we're going to do is talk about it because before we change policy, we have to change our viewpoint. We have to change our priorities, and the United States won't change priorities by itself. It's going to have to be a change of priorities for the whole world.

And I guess the best example I can give you is my six year old child. I gave him $10 to buy a toy so he spent most of it on a big gun. And I asked him, "Why do you want to buy a big gun?"

"Because the big bully on the street has a bigger gun. This is a laser gun. So I can defend myself better." That's the way he described it, and I thought to myself, "My God, he just described the nuclear arms race, you know." Priorities are shifting and complex. We're changing from an industrialized world into one of information service and our Latino community is not equipped to cope with these changes because low education means low voting participation, and fewer votes mean we're not going to change anything.

Unless we women and men realize that as families we have to change national policies, we're going to be absolutely wasting our efforts. It's a simple fact, and we have to recognize that. I'm sorry, but I get very, very angry because we talk about how we can help ourselves, and the whole world is making sure that we don't.

MS. CORTEZ: When I started my remarks, I said "overwhelming," and I really do feel overwhelmed at times. When you look at the total picture, it's overwhelming, but we have to start. Even if it's small, even if we only serve 1,000 individuals a year, at least we're chipping away at the problem. The other issue you brought up is that children and poor people don't vote. We have to develop our people's propensity to vote and start thinking in those terms. We've got to empower ourselves.

Change will come eventually. We want it to come right now, but we've got to look at it in terms of it coming because we will make it come.

MR. GARCIA: I don't know. What you just said in terms of chipping away and giving the statistics is like un paso cangrejo, un paso adelante, un paso atras.

DR. DELGADO: It's hard being a stone cutter with the tools we have today, but we're chipping away.

DR. PACHON: We will convene so that our last panel can cap the very interesting day we have had.

I will give you the logic of the way we've structured the day for you: The first panel brought us some of our top academics or researchers in the fields of social demographics and Hispanic children in poverty. Our second panel were people who have day-to-day, hands-on experiences in the administrative/public sector who can also tell us about innovative practices. Our afternoon panel consisted of representatives from community-based groups, the public sector that is not governmental based. And this panel, which in a way has one of the hardest challenges of all, is addressing the issue of current governmental action.

The program is misleading in that it says that we are setting up an agenda. The agenda really is this conference.

The first person to speak to us on this topic is Ms. Ann Rosewater. Ms. Rosewater is the Chief of Staff of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. Since 1983, she has developed and coordinated Congressional investigations and hearings on a broad range of issues affecting American families and children, including poverty, income maintenance, and child care.

Prior to her work with the Select Committee, Ms. Rosewater was a principal staff member of the Children's Defense Fund. She holds a Master's degree from Columbia University.

MS. ANN ROSEWATER: Let me first say that I'm delighted to be here. I commend this organization for having a conference focusing solely on the issues of Latino children and poverty. It's a really important step in bringing this very disturbing set of problems to the national agenda, and it is a step that I hope is followed by many others with which we will work cooperatively.

As Harry said, the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families has held innumerable hearings over the past five years. We've traveled the country. We've issued a series of reports and have studied a wide range of fundamental issues affecting all children and families in this country --child poverty, child abuse, teen pregnancy, child care. Increasingly we are paying attention to the problems of AIDS, drug exposed babies, and many other problems that you're familiar with.

We have held a hearing specifically on concerns of Hispanic families and children. I've brought the fact sheet from that hearing so you can use the material. There are also copies of the hearing available. A lot of the data, I'm sure, are familiar, but I'd like to repeat some of it at the risk of overloading you a little because I think it's important to establish the context of education and employment programs, the topic I was asked to speak on.

The Latino community is growing rapidly, and by the year 2000 it will be the largest minority group in the country. What is of concern here is that it is a particularly young community with a high proportion of women of child-bearing age. The median age of Latinos in this country is age 23, younger than the general population which is 30. The fertility rates are very high and have not declined, unlike in other groups.

The Latino community is not homogeneous. It's quite diverse and has a range of cultural and language strengths. They are the keys to figuring out how to address the problems of low income Latino kids.

Unfortunately, the economic changes in this country have had particular impact on Latino families. In addition, there are a variety of circumstances, including immigration from war torn countries, which has created extremely disruptive family situations. All of those affect the educational circumstances of the children in this community.

Obviously the reason you are here today is because poverty among Latino children has risen so extraordinarily; already 40 percent of Latino children are poor, twice the rate of children taken as a whole.

I have been asked to speak particularly about education and employment. I will concentrate on education because it seems to me that given what we know about the educational status of Latino youth, if we don't start there, and really even before that, we're not going to reach the issue of employment. There's been a dramatic increase in the numbers of Latino school-aged kids who are increasingly impoverished.

Poverty alone, as the Select Committee has repeatedly found, is a powerful predictor of risks for all young children, and Latinos are no exception. One in four Latinos in the early elementary grades is already below grade level, and by the high school sophomore year, 12 percent of Latino teenagers are two years below grade level.

My particular concern is one the Select Committee has heard more and more about--the fact that schools have generally not been very inviting to parents, particularly low income and Hispanic parents. Teachers and school officials are generally intimidating, but add to that a communication gap and you get a precarious situation where dialogue is limited.

The language barrier is obviously a continuing obstacle not only to parents but to kids. Only a third of Limited-English-Proficient (LEP) children have been assessed to determine their proficiency level, and even in the states with the greatest numbers of LEP children, two-thirds between 5 and 14 receive no special educational services with regard to their language difficulties.

The shortage of bilingual teachers, as you know, is extreme. Only two and a half percent of elementary school teachers and less than two percent of secondary school teachers are Latino. That's teachers. When we talk about social workers, counselors, and others responsible for responding to problems of Latino families and providing services for Latino children, they're just not there. The few there are there are quite overwhelmed.

We've learned as well that schools, because they can't communicate easily with parents and students, assume that non-English speaking parents don't have much to offer the schools. That means they are doing very little outreach, exacerbating what is already a very difficult cultural gap. The new immigration laws have also complicated the issue. Even if we've tried to make sure that children, regardless of their legal status, are eligible for educational services, their parents' fears and precarious status can affect family involvement with the schools.

Another factor, less well known, is the increasing segregation of Latino children in school. Since 1976, according to Gary Orfield (a noted desegregation scholar at the University of Chicago), there's been virtually no progress in school integration. Black students and Latino students have become increasingly racially isolated.

In 1980, more than 70 percent of Latino students were enrolled in predominantly minority schools, up from 56 percent in 1972. You know the results of these conditions--poor scholastic performance and very disturbing dropout rates. Usually 40 percent of those kids who drop out do so by the spring of tenth grade.

We're also seeing an increase in births to unmarried Latino teenagers, and for Puerto Rican teenagers, three-quarters of all teen births are to unmarried mothers. This is a fairly recent phenomenon but, again, it means Latino teen mothers are even less likely to complete high school than their White or Black counterparts.

In addition, there are the increasing racial and ethnic tensions resulting from new immigration to which teachers, school officials, and professionals across the board in the range of human service professions are generally unprepared to respond, though there have been some fledgling efforts to address the problem in California.

There is a group called California Tomorrow, headed by Bruce Kelly, which has been set up particularly to address the changing ethnic and racial population of the schools and to raise very specifically these issues. They have interviewed students, and what they find is that across the board immigrant students, whether they're Latino or Asian or others, are ridiculed, excluded, and treated with hostility by nonimmigrant students or students of other ethnic groups.

Now, there are clearly some successful programs which are trying to address some of the educational problems and to involve parents and students in a much more empowering way. I'm sure you've heard about Garfield High School in East L.A., where the advanced placement program has enticed Latino kids to become involved and given them some expectations. The success rate there is very high and very exciting.

That's obviously a clue to what can be done elsewhere. One of the key findings by the Select Committee, a very important one, is that we need to start earlier in providing services for children and families in order to create both a readiness and an ability to get the most from schools. That means investing in preschool. It means investing in child care. It means addressing welfare reform in a much more major way than I fear Congress ultimately will do. It means looking comprehensively at all the needs of Latino children, not just separately--education versus health versus child care versus social services. There is a range of services which need to be provided in a family-oriented way. They need to build on the strengths of Hispanic, Latino families.

Congress has, despite the really sweeping budget cuts over the past several years, begun to recognize the wisdom of investing in proven cost-effective, preventive programs. Through the children's initiative in the budget last year, through the gradual expansion of Medicaid, through beginning attention to child care, and through the reauthorizations that the House, at least, has begun of the elementary and secondary education programs, including bilingual education, I think we're beginning to see a recognition that we need to invest earlier and more comprehensively.

Until there is much more visible concern about the needs of Latino children and poverty, I don't think that Congress is going to jump up and down and do much. That's pretty harsh, but I think it's the fact. As the poverty data suggest, there's a very serious problem with very far-reaching consequences that will take an enormous investment, not just by the federal government but by governments and public policy groups across the board.

It will take enforcement of civil rights. It will take major initiatives at every level, which means a lot of organizing, a lot of organizing in localities, a lot of organizing at the state level. It will take what you are trying to do, lobbying and educating policy makers. That means inviting members of

Congress or other public officials to visit successful programs, to talk to parents, to hear from children. It will mean trying to bridge some of the communication gaps which are so real and where the intimidation is so enormous. The Select Committee is obviously trying to do that through its forum. We will persist in doing it as long as Congress allows us to. We would welcome additional suggestions and ideas.

DR. PACHON: If the Select Committee represents fact finding and authorization recommendations, there's another side to the Hill which all of us who have worked there can recognize. That side is appropriations. It's vital because though many programs are passed, few are funded, and fewer yet are fully funded. To give us a perspective on the money side of the legislative process, we have with us Mr. Mike Stephens. Mr. Stephens is a Staff Assistant for the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Labor, HHS, and Education.

His specific responsibilities include health and substance abuse, Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and public assistance. As an aside, that means he coordinates the development of the questioning that goes on for all of these different departments that we just finished reading for the Subcommittee on Health, Education and Social Welfare.

Prior to joining the subcommittee staff in 1975, Mr. Stephens worked for the then U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the old HEW, in the refugee and Medicaid programs. He holds a Master's degree in public health from North Carolina University, and is a true friend of the Latino community in Congress. Mike.

MR. STEPHENS: My role in life is not to be a world's expert on particular areas many of you are interested in. My area of expertise is the process through which many of the decisions that affect outcomes will be addressed and, in particular, the process of competition for scarce resources, money, in the Washington environment. In the end money does play an important role, as you all know, in dealing with problems, though I think it is not the only, and in many ways not even the dominant, issue in terms of addressing poverty issues overall. Family structure and other social relationships tend to play much more important roles, but money is what makes things happen over the next 12 months in the work I do.

I work for a subcommittee that has jurisdiction over three cabinet departments, the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education. As Dr. Pachon said, I've been there 12 years. Five of us work for that subcommittee and handle that jurisdiction. I'm the junior person on the staff. We typically have people who have 15 to 20 years tenure. That means, frankly, that you are not there to accomplish your agenda. You're there to support the chairman of the full committee, the chairman of the subcommittee, and the membership at that time, in doing what they think is important.

It is a very broad jurisdiction. Almost $500 billion of federal government funds passes through the agencies we handle. If you count the trust fund programs, we have substantially more money than does the Defense subcommittee, which has around $300 billion. But our process does not try to focus on each of the 800 programs that make up that subset but rather to, in any given year, distribute whatever amount of money is available for human services among those 800 programs.

I thought I would talk briefly about the practicalities of that process, and about the numbers and how they play out this year. I assume the agenda of this conference is to move from some sort of consensus to action, and we're one of the groups with which you'd probably want to interact.

Earlier in the day you heard from people on the authorizing committees responsible for creating legislative programs to serve needs, whether defense, poverty, education, health, or whatever. In terms of the programs we handle, those committees are principally in the House--the Education and Labor Committee and the Commerce Subcommittee on Health. In addition, the Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over the major entitlements serving the poor, is critical.

These committees create a list of programs. The budget committees then determine the total amount of money available to spend in any given year. This year we're essentially talking about a trillion dollar budget to be allocated, about a third to Defense and about two thirds to non-Defense items.

After the totals are determined, it's the role of the Appropriations Committees to take existing programs and divide money up among them. As I said, we have jurisdiction over about $500 billion worth of spending that passes through our departments, but the vast bulk of that automatically goes to Social Security and Medicare trust funds. Our jurisdiction is really over their administrative costs.

That leaves about $140 billion in appropriations, which includes the money from the general fund for major entitlements, Medicaid--about $25 billion, Aid to Families with Dependent Children--in the $10 billion range, Supplemental Security Income--in the $8 million range, and a variety of other payments made to liquidate obligations of the federal government created by permanent law. We do not have any jurisdiction in our subcommittee to change the way the AFDC program works, to change the way the Medicaid program works. We're really just paying the bills.

Moving down to the next step, our subcommittee has to allocate about $40 billion among the discretionary programs of the federal government on the domestic side. These include about $15 billion for the Department of Education, including about $6 billion that goes to helping disadvantaged children through the Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 and education for the handicapped programs, and about another $5 billion that goes out in student financial aid, again focused heavily, although not exclusively, on the disadvantaged student population. The latter has been reaching more into the lower middle class over the last five to ten years.

Then we have the public health service programs, including many that you people probably work with, on which we spend about $12 billion per year. The largest allocation by far is the approximately $7 billion we put into biomedical research, not in itself an obvious anti-poverty program, but, I think, one of the main tools we have with which to deal with poverty in the long run. You have to be healthy in order to get an education and in order to be employed and in order to get out of poverty.

Beyond biomedical research, we have those programs that directly support the poor, programs like community health centers, maternal and child health, mental health for the chronically ill, and programs which directly serve the indigent.

The budget resolution this year is not complete, but we have outlined for us the broad numbers with which we have to deal. On this discretionary set of programs the budget resolutions have provided an increase of about ten percent for our programs, which is quite generous, and is not true for every domestic program. The Human Services programs have really been singled out, both in the House and the Senate, for relatively substantial increases during a period of quite constrained allotments overall. We have about $36.2 billion to spend in 1987 on various programs of education and health, and the budget resolutions in the House and Senate would both allow about $40 billion in total for those programs. At this point that budget resolution is in conference to settle on specific amounts.

Our committee will have to make choices prior to the end of the month on how to divide that $40 billion up among this very large number of programs. Most are worthwhile and we don't have enough dollars to satisfy everybody.

This administration proposed reductions in its early years. Nevertheless, the President signed the appropriations bill every year for the last five years. Last year we did go in under the continuing resolution. Prior to that, however, the President signed individual Labor, HHS appropriations bills that for the most part restored the cuts that were proposed in the President's budget.

We are now beginning the process of making specific decisions about the money that goes in different pots. Initially we spend about two and a half months here in the Executive Branch hearing about how those programs are working, hearing about the political side but also hearing' about the day-to-day operational issues that really determine the details of the budget. Mostly the process is one of looking at details and how programs change modestly from year to year.

We then spend about three weeks hearing from the outside groups, including many groups you are familiar with, NALEO and COHSMO and other Hispanic groups. This year 350 separate groups appeared before the committee to talk about what they thought the priorities of the budget should be.

The budget is overlayed in detail with a lot of documentation, including input from the outside community. Then 13 members of Congress will sit around a small table for, maybe, ten hours and go through every one of the programs we handle, making distribution decisions on the basis of what they've heard from the Executive Branch, what they know from having worked on these programs--the average member has been on my subcommittee for 18 years, and what the particular issues of the moment are.

In any given year there are major agenda items, and this year I've made a list. You always have the problem that you may miss some important things, but I think there are some fundamental programs which we're trying to impose on this system.

Last year, we began a children's initiative in Congress in which we began to look at restructuring the way we serve children. The authorizing committees have been trying to increase funding for those programs already in existence to serve that group, and also trying to look very aggressively for new programs where they're needed.

The second fundamental issue for us this year is AIDS which, while not fundamentally a children's issue (although we do know we have a pediatric AIDS problem), is important because it will consume a very large amount of resources. A large part of $4 billion or so available for increases from '88 versus '86, will be consumed by some very, very large single demands, reducing the amount available to distribute more broadly. This year we're going to increase spending for AIDS from the current level of about $400 million to somewhere in the $800 million to $1 billion range. So you see a $400 to $600 million increase for that alone.

Third, there is broad interest about fundamental reform in the welfare system, of which the job training portion is a major element. The executive and legislative branches have both talked about expenditures in the $1 billion range for new job training programs to replace some existing programs which some people don't think have worked very well. Here again you see a single large item likely to consume substantial amounts of new resources if they're there.

The third major item to be contended with is student financial assistance. To maintain the support for the student financial aid system as it currently exists will require an increase of $400 to $600 million. So you get down relatively quickly to about $2 billion, maybe a little less, to allocate for increases.

There are also some budget items for which we propose reductions, which should generate a substantial amount of money. You all should be trying to influence the people that I work for about where that money should go.

At this point we've completed our hearings. In theory we'll be marking up a bill within the next two to three weeks. That really will start the process moving, and then it will come to the Senate for consideration in July or early August and final agreements in September.

I'm going to go back to my initial comment about my role being one within a process so that you understand in interacting with us what we can and cannot do. The appropriations process is not a place to create new programs or to make fundamental changes in the direction of government. It is a place to make those specific decisions in a particular budget year that you think are most important and then to, over the long run, influence the directions that spending priorities take. You should come to us with your specific problems and I'll be glad to answer questions. Come and talk to our members and talk to their staffs about what you think is important.

DR. PACHON: Thank you, Mike. Our third presenter is Dr. Lawrence Hunter. Dr. Hunter currently serves as Special Consultant to the White House on welfare reform. As a member of the White House working group on low income assistance, he was instrumental in producing the report "Up from Dependence, A New National Public Assistance Strategy." Dr. Hunter previously held the position of Research Director at the Advisory Committee on Inter-government Relations. Dr. Hunter holds his degree in political economy from the University of Minnesota.

DR. HUNTER; On behalf of the White House and Chuck Hobbs in particular, I want to thank you for inviting us here today and giving us the opportunity to present the administration's position on welfare reform.

I would like to read a fairly short prepared statement and then take questions at the conclusion of the panel.

I always like to start these things with a warning for your good mental health. Beware of social scientists bearing statistics. I am a social scientist. I have a few statistics, not many.

Especially in the area of poverty and welfare, it seems we have a tendency to become overwhelmed with numbers, and when you are so far removed, as we are in Washington, D.C., from the problems that people in poverty face every day, your view of poverty becomes very abstract. Keep that in the front of your mind as I talk because I think one of the premises of the President's proposal is that we need to reform the way we think about poverty, the way we think about welfare.

After thorough review of the welfare system in the United States, President Reagan has put welfare reform at the top of the nation's domestic agenda. Based upon a report compiled for him by the White House Domestic Policy Council, the President has devised and sent to Congress the Low Income Opportunity Act of 1987, a comprehensive, long-range strategy for overhauling the nation's welfare system. In the President's words, this is the time to reform this outmoded social dinosaur and finally break the poverty trail.

The report is entitled "Up from Dependency" and its most important finding, which is really not very profound, is that the system of welfare programs really is a system, and the first key for opening the door to welfare reform is to think about programs systematically.

The welfare system is made up of 59 major federal means-tested programs. It costs the federal government and state governments over $140 billion a year. It requires over 6,000 pages of federal laws and regulations and is authorized by 18 different Congressional committees and managed by eight different federal departments. It takes hundreds of thousands of welfare workers to run the system. Over 52 million Americans--that's almost one in four Americans--benefit from some means-tested program during the course of any one year.

American taxpayers have been extraordinarily generous in supporting programs to help the poor. This $140 billion represents over one-third of all income tax receipts collected at the federal level. Unfortunately, much of the assistance provided through these programs never reaches those most in need. We spend twice as much as necessary to bring every man, woman, and child in the United States out of poverty. The last figures I saw showed we could bring everyone in the country close to 116 or 117 percent above the poverty line with our current budget.

We spend twice as much as necessary, yet everyone knows there are large numbers of people still in poverty. By virtually any measure one chooses, except perhaps the amount of money spent, the current welfare system is a failure. If it's not the ultimate cause of persistent poverty and dependency, it certainly is a reinforcement. It weakens families, and it fails to provide for those most in need.

In this month's issue of the Atlantic Monthly, David Whitman sums up a growing consensus in the nation. He writes, "Welfare is bad for you. On that proposition, liberals and conservatives now seem to agree."

In light of this, the President's strategy of reform is based upon one very simple premise, and on a thorough evaluation of our current state of knowledge about poverty and welfare dependency.

The premise is that, to be successful, government's efforts to assist the poor must be redesigned to address the real human problems of unique individuals. The system must cease treating people merely as statistical abstractions, as members of one or another disadvantaged socio-economic group, for purposes of determining legal entitlement to governmental welfare benefits.

A survey of scholarly research in the technical literature on poverty and dependency reveals that despite 25 years of research and a good amount of money, there continue to be significant gaps in our knowledge about the causes and the cures of persistent poverty and welfare dependency. It's startling how little social scientists really know about the subject. This means that even the brightest and most well intentioned public officials simply do not know how to deal with persistent poverty. As government must attack poverty and dependency at the level of the individual, not of sociological abstraction, it's simply impossible for Congress to design nationally uniform assistance programs even in those areas where our level of knowledge is high and the gaps are few.

In those areas where our understanding of the problems is tentative, Congressional efforts to impose national solutions may actually be dangerous, destined to produce unanticipated harmful long-run outcomes for the poor and, probably equally important, to undermine public support for governmental assistance efforts.

In sum, Congress never will possess the knowledge required to legislate a uniform national solution for persistent poverty and welfare dependency because no such solution exists. Any national solution must, by definition, apply to some typical recipient or some sociological abstraction and must, of necessity, try to implement the program through formal rules and regulations.

Any such program is destined to misallocate both amounts and types of assistance as demanded by individual situations.

When individualized attention is added as a requirement for successful reform to the current state of our knowledge (which I think most would recognize is inadequate), choices become fairly clear. We must avoid an over-enthusiastic, nationally uniform application of today's most fashionable theories on poverty and dependency, and there are a lot of those. A successful reform strategy will institute a process that avoids both the extremes of paralysis and overconfidence in our ability to legislate solutions from Washington. The President likes to say reform is a process, not a legislative event. His strategy would launch a process of policy experimentation, allowing individual state governments wide latitude and flexibility to redesign their systems of low income assistance programs from the ground up.

These state experiments would be designed within guidelines established by Congress and would be certified and monitored by the federal government on an ongoing basis. It must be emphasized what the President has in mind. It is not that we spend the next five years merely testing out different ideas and then try to choose the best to enact into national legislation. The President's whole point is that there is no single best idea that applies to the nation or even, for that matter, to an entire state. The administration's position is that many of the problems with the current system stem precisely from stubborn determination to impose national solutions upon local community problems.

Now, here briefly is what the President proposes. Legislation would be passed authorizing states to obtain broad waivers from current federal law to conduct state-sponsored, community-based experiments with alternative welfare systems. States could incorporate into experimental systems the funding that they would otherwise receive from those 59 different anti-poverty programs with a total budget of $140 billion. We are proposing to allow states to design new systems and guarantee the funding to them over a five-year period of experimentation and policy demonstration.

Any state's request for waiver authority will have to make clear exactly what the state intends to do, specifically designating which programs will be included, who will participate and how, principles for eligibility, benefit determination methods, the role of the community, and the innovative ways in which the state expects the experimental system to meet the needs of low income populations and to reduce dependency. We also will ask for a description of the evaluation efforts the state plans to undertake.

The waiver request will be received by an Inter-agency Low Income Opportunity Board which will be made up of the Secretaries of the departments that currently have responsibility for the 59 welfare programs. The Board will be chaired by someone appointed by the President.

One thing we have heard over and over from state governments and state departments of human services is that they need a single place where they can come to get federal approval for their welfare reform ideas. The Inter-agency Low Income Opportunity Board is intended to speak with one voice to the states, while still listening to the various voices of the executive agencies responsible for public assistance programs.

The states have told us, both with their words and through their actions since 1981, that they know how to proceed in addressing many of the troubling problems of poverty and dependency within their own communities. They make no claim to having discovered a panacea, and it's the President's belief that the real solution does not lie in centralized state reform any more than in a centralized national reform.

Rather, we will find successful solutions to poverty and dependency only when the states, along with the federal government, sponsor, support, and assist community-based solutions.

The strategy of reform proposed in the Low Income Opportunity Act of 1987 does not--I repeat, does not--ask welfare recipients to remain in limbo over the next five years while we perform a few scattered demonstration projects. With increased flexibility to experiment, states can improve their systems almost immediately.

They won't design the perfect system, certainly, and that's why it's essential that they be permitted to learn from their actions, to make incremental adjustments as they go along, and to improve their design. The experimental process is designed to permit each level of government to do what it does best. We try something. We keep what works. We throw out what doesn't. We improve as we go along.

The federal government would guarantee states that it would continue funding this system as it does currently. Currently it's about an 80-20 split, 80 percent funded through the federal government, 20 percent by the states.

Some things will work well in some states and some communities and not so well in others. We won't know what works where, under what circumstances until we, in Senator Moynihan's words, dare to fail. But in this case, that's not such a bad risk, given the certainty of failure if we do nothing.

Senator Moynihan will, within about three or four weeks, introduce a bill. We're very encouraged that he has basically bought into the strategy that the President has proposed. We've not seen the legislative language, but one section of the senator's bill will address fairly broad-based demonstration authority. It's not as broad as we would like. We will continue negotiating with the senator, but I think any bill that comes out of the Finance Committee will incorporate the strategy the President has put forward.

DR. PACHON: Mr. Robert Greenstein is the Director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a nonprofit organization founded in 1981 to carry out analysis of federal budget and policy issues, focusing on those affecting low and moderate-low income Americans.

Previously Mr. Greenstein served as Administrator for the Food and Nutrition Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the agency with primary responsibility for the operation of the nation's food assistance programs. He is a graduate of Harvard University.

MR. ROBERT GREENSTEIN: Thank you for inviting me. I'd like to start with a brief review of some census data relating to Hispanic poverty, especially among children, and then discuss what that data may suggest in terms of dealing with these problems. As other speakers have mentioned, our most recent census data, for 1985, were not very encouraging about Hispanic children. The figures showed that the Hispanic poverty rate was nearly 40 percent, the highest recorded since the Census Bureau began collecting data on poverty and Hispanics in 1973.

Also discouraging was the income data in the same report showing that the median or typical Hispanic family in 1985 had over $2,000 less in income than the typical Hispanic family in 1973.

Now, it should be said that 1973 was the high point for family income for all groups of Americans, White, Black, or Hispanic, but the drop was more than twice as great in percentage terms from 1973 to 1985 for Hispanics than for either Whites or Blacks.

The data also show that in 1985 per capita income was lower for Hispanics than for any other group, including Blacks. When you look at some of the groups within this population, you find some very interesting statistics which begin to take us, I think, to a discussion of potentially beneficial policy approaches for poor Hispanic families with children.

First, a particularly interesting statistic: While about 12 percent of Black married couple families are poor and 6 percent of White married couple families are poor, 17 percent of Hispanic married couple families are poor. About 50 percent of Black female-headed families are poor, and about 53 percent of Hispanic female-headed families are poor.

Hearing these numbers, you might wonder why the Hispanic poverty rate isn't higher than the Black poverty rate overall. Well, it's gotten pretty close. It used to be about eight or ten percentage points below the Black poverty rate. It's only about two percentage points below now, but the reason that the Hispanic poverty rate is still lower is that the percentage of Hispanic families headed by a female is still considerably lower than the percentage of Black families headed by a female. But when you take a given type of family, whether female headed or two-parent, the proportion that is poor is actually higher for Hispanics than Blacks.

Another interesting piece of data: It appears that Hispanics who work are pushed into poverty by low-paying jobs to a greater degree than is true of either Blacks or Whites. One of every 40 Whites who works full time year round is below the poverty line. One in every 22 Blacks who works full time year round is in poverty. One of every 15 Hispanics who works full time year round is in poverty. In part that's because of low wage jobs. In part it's also because Hispanics have somewhat larger families, so a minimum wage could put the larger family into poverty while the smaller family could stay above the poverty line.

I think these data suggest that, first, policies that help families with children, especially large families and low income families, are particularly important for Hispanics. Number two, policies that help the working poor are particularly important for Hispanic working families.

In that vein, I think we find that the budget cuts of the early 1980s were particularly detrimental for Hispanic families. Those budget cuts, as has been well documented, disproportionately affected low income programs. They disproportionately affected families with children much more than they hit the low income elderly, and they disproportionately hit the working poor.

You hear it said that a lot of the cuts didn't hit the very poorest of the poor. Well, the biggest hits were on the working poor who weren't the very poorest of the poor. There is a very significant number of Hispanics in the working poor.

In fact, an Urban Institute study done several years ago found that, because of the 1981 budget cuts, the average Hispanic family lost twice as much as the average White family. That was not positive.

On a positive side, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 disproportionately benefited Hispanics. It reduced working families below the poverty line from the income tax rolls. It increased personal exemptions, one for each child, substantially, which helps larger families. It expanded the earned income tax credit, a very important tax credit for working poor families with children.

Both of these cases are examples of policies that can disproportionately harm or help Hispanic families with children.

Now, where do we go from here? There really is no one single approach that will solve everything, nor are all of the needed policy changes at the federal level, as I'll mention in a few minutes. Important things can be done at the state level as well as at the federal level, and more decisions have moved in recent years to the state level.

I think employment is extremely important to Hispanic families in particular, though it's hard to legislate. 1986 marked the seventh straight year when the unemployment rate averaged seven percent or above. We haven't had a stretch like that since the end of World War II. It's a little more encouraging now.

Unemployment is down to 6.3 percent, but that's still pretty high, and as you read in the papers, there's a growing fear that we're heading for a recession. We've gone a number of years without one, and at some point in the next few years most economists think one is likely. That will push unemployment way back up.

Even today, long-term unemployment, defined as those out of work more than 26 weeks and still looking for a job, is about 50 percent greater than it was in 1980. That is important for Hispanics because there have been sharp budget cuts at both federal and state levels in the unemployment insurance program. Only one-third of the unemployed collect unemployment benefits in an average month.

A couple of years ago we looked at how that broke out state by state, and we found that a number of states with the largest Hispanic populations were precisely the ones that had the most restrictive unemployment insurance programs, states like Texas and Florida where only one in four or one in five of the unemployed get unemployment benefits in a typical month. Those states also failed to cover two-parent families under their welfare programs, as about half of the states do. That means a two-parent family with children that is unemployed for more than half a year may be ineligible for any sort of cash assistance whatsoever, a huge hole in the "safety net" and one that affects a number of Hispanic families with children.

I would hope that the presidential candidates of both parties in '88 put a high priority on policies to bring unemployment down. It means a little bit higher inflation. The data are very clear that the combination of high unemployment and low inflation benefits higher income people and is particularly damaging to low income and minority people.

Secondly, beyond employment, there are tax issues. Let me mention something that may sound a little "jargony" at first, but is really, I think, one of the most important policy initiatives that could be taken on behalf of Hispanic families with children. Despite Dr. Hunter's statement about federal solutions, the positive policy approach I'm about to mention has been endorsed by a number of the leading people in the White House. I'm talking about earned income tax credit, which is a tax credit that goes to working poor families with children. That credit is a refundable credit, which means that if the credit is greater than the income tax owed, a refund check comes back from the government to help offset Social Security payroll taxes and things of that sort.

There is growing discussion about adjusting tax credit by family size or by number of children in the family so that workers with large families could get a larger earned income tax credit to boost them closer to the poverty line. This is something that is attractive to liberals and conservatives alike.

Welfare is adjusted by family size. Wages are not. If we want people to work and we want wages to be competitive, it would be very helpful to working poor families to reward work, to make this adjustment.

This idea was supported in the White House report on the family that came out last November. It was supported last year by Dan Cribben, who was recently appointed as a top White House aide by Howard Baker. It is supported by the Heritage Foundation. It is supported by the Children's Defense Fund. It is supported by Senator Bradley. It has a broad base of support.

So far right now it doesn't seem to be going anywhere on the Hill because it would cost $1 to $2 billion a year, and no one is really sure quite where to find the money. It has been in the draft of some of Senator Moynihan's welfare reform bills, but it's probably coming out because it costs too much.

However, let me mention that this is something that we should all watch for in the next month or two. There actually is a chance of enacting it into law this year, not a great chance, but not an insignificant chance either. The Congress may, in the next couple of months, raise up to $18 billion in revenues to help reduce the deficit as part of and in conjunction with the budget now before it. While the President has indicated strong opposition to revenue increases, he has indicated his strongest opposition to increases in income tax rates or changes in income tax in general. Partly because of that, there is some thought on Capitol Hill that there may be increases in excise or energy taxes instead, which might be less unpalatable, while still not desirable, to the White House.

Excise and energy taxes are regressive. They take a larger share of the income of poor families than of middle and upper income families. There is some thought that if excise and/or energy taxes are pursued as a way to raise revenue, there may be a way to soften the impact on the bottom and make good policy at the same time by accompanying them with something like adjusted earned income tax credit by family size. It would enable us both to reduce the deficit and help working poor families with children. It might actually be something that could be discussed across party lines.

I'm not going to say that it's real likely, but there's a glimmer of a possibility, and if it comes along, I think it would be a very useful thing to pursue.

Before I leave the tax issue, I should also mention that everyone in Washington, from Bill Bradley to Ronald Reagan to Senator Kennedy to Senator Packwood to Senator Dole was united last year on the position that families who work and are below the poverty line shouldn't be taxed deeper into poverty by paying federal income tax. In many states there is now an opportunity to take working poor families off state income tax rolls. Since Hispanics have a disproportionately large number of working poor families, this is particularly beneficial to them.

Eight states have already taken major steps in this regard. In many others, the matter is now pending. It costs very little in terms of state revenue to design a well-targeted approach to remove working poor families from state income tax rolls.

Continuing with the themes of families, children, and the working poor, there is the very important issue of health care. The problem we have today is that many families are ineligible for public programs because the father is in the house in a state that doesn't cover two-parent families on welfare, or because the adults are working. Poor families can fall below the poverty line but still make too much money to qualify for welfare. Although they can't qualify in many states for Medicaid, their low wage jobs don't provide health care coverage for families or children.

Two points are of interest here. First, last fall Congress did pass, and the President did sign, legislation that gives every state in the country the option of covering pregnant women and children (now to age one but phasing in over a few years up to age five) under Medicaid if they're below the poverty line, regardless of whether they're one- or two-parent families and whether or not they're on welfare.

This is a particularly important option to urge states to adopt. It can help bring needed health care coverage to a significant number of young, poor, Hispanic children and pregnant women.

In addition, some legislation is pending to further expand Medicaid coverage to larger numbers of poor children not otherwise covered. Today if a family is below its state's welfare income limit, often about half of the poverty line, but isn't on welfare because, let's say, both parents are present, the state still has to provide Medicaid coverage up to the child's fifth birthday. There's legislation pending to raise that to the eighth birthday. Again, that would be of particular importance to Hispanic families.

Important provisions also are pending, as part of welfare reform legislation, to provide Medicaid coverage for a transition period after a family leaves welfare and goes to work.

Another area, not one on which there's broad consensus, not one in which I think laws can be enacted in the next few years, and not one you hear often mentioned in discussions of welfare reform, but one I'd like to discuss today, is the minimum wage. We've recently been looking at that in our organization. In the 1960s and the 1970s, if you worked full time year around at the minimum wage, the amount you earned was roughly equiva-lent to the poverty line for a family of three, so that under those working conditions, you could lift a family of three out of poverty.

Today, full time year around work at the minimum wage leaves you $2,100 below the poverty line. Data show that 60 percent of all workers paid at an hourly rate whose households are below the poverty line earn at or near the minimum wage and would be helped by a minimum wage increase. That is beginning to be discussed now, which is useful in laying the groundwork for pursuing the matter in a future administration. At this point it is quite clear that, were legislation passed to raise the minimum wage, the President would veto it, and there isn't anything remotely close to a two-thirds vote to override it.

But I do think it's useful to discuss it. Consumer prices have gone up 30 percent since January 1981. The minimum wage has not been raised during that period, which is the longest stretch it has stayed the same since it was first established back in 1938 as part of the New Deal.

Another area that is particularly important and one on which Secretary of Labor Brock has been particularly outspoken, I think eloquent, is the need to focus on basic skills training. We face an interesting situation as we head towards the 1990s.

In the 1970s, large numbers of Baby Boomers and large numbers of women entered the labor market at the same time. There were many more people looking for jobs than there were jobs around. Unemployment rates went up. Minorities got pushed to the back of the queue, and their unemployment rates rose, often disproportionately.

In the 1990s, we're heading in a very different direction. The number of youth, teenagers, entering the labor market each year is going down substantially, the opposite of the 1970s. There's really an opportunity here because fewer people will be looking for jobs compared to the number of new jobs being created. There's an opportunity to really reduce unemployment and boost the income of minorities.

But there's also a problem. Many of the jobs being created require skills that low income people do not have. There's a growing sense among Democrats and Republicans alike that we've really got to invest more in basic skills--particularly literacy and math computation.

We have a window of opportunity as the labor market tightens. If we miss it, we may not get another one for a long time. One area, already mentioned, is investing more in those programs that have a successful, proven track record in improving the prospects of poor children but through which we only now reach a fraction of the children eligible: Head Start, where we reach about a fifth of the children eligible; WICK, where we reach about two-fifths of the children eligible; Compensatory Education; Job Corps Programs and so forth.

Finally, there is the little area of welfare reform. I purposely put it last because I was afraid that if I put it first I'd run out of time, having talked about nothing else!

Suffice it to say I do not think it would be particularly helpful for poor Hispanic families and children simply to follow the administration's prescription. I do not think the evidence indicates that welfare is corrosive. The evidence is fairly clear that it does not increase illegitimacy and has little impact on work behavior.

However, there is an agreement among liberals and conservatives that we are currently not doing enough, whether or not welfare causes the problems. I think we can all agree that the current system doesn't do very much to help families climb out of poverty.

There's a growing interest in employment and training programs for welfare recipients. However, I don't think they are likely to yield particularly impressive results unless we focus on those welfare recipients who have high barriers to employment, who tend to stay on welfare longer in the absence of help, and who need more intensive services. They need improvement of their basic skills, not simply to be told to go look for five jobs and come back and fill out a little form, like current practice in the unemployment insurance program.

I think we need to change the rule that allows states to refuse welfare coverage to two-parent families and to discriminate against poor two-parent families with children as distinguished from single-parent families with children. Because of the 17% poverty rate among Hispanic two-parent families, a change of this kind is more important for Hispanic families than for any other group. I think the administration's opposition, despite its pro-family rhetoric, to covering two-parent families with children is shocking. Even the Heritage Foundation is in favor of that. This shouldn't be a right/left, conservative/liberal issue, and I'm hoping that the administration will yet come around on this issue before the year is over.

There are other things we need to do. I'll simply close by saying that everyone favors demonstration projects to learn more important things from, but what scares a lot of us is an agenda that is not really for demonstration but, from my perspective, the unraveling of basic federal standards and programs like food stamps and SSI. If we are not careful, once again we will shut out the working poor.

DR. PACHON: Thank you. We'll take some questions now.

DR. DELGADO: My name is Jane Delgado, and I may have an advantage that some of the other people here don't. I have extensive experience in the Department of Health and Human Services and I've read the President's welfare reform program.

First, I have a concern that I have already expressed to both Mr. Hobbs and Mr. Germanis. I'm sure that both Mr. Stephens and Ms. Rosewater would point out that many of those 59 programs are not true welfare programs. A lot of the Indian health service programs, mandated by treaties, are included there.

Additionally, I believe, the Medicaid program is included there, and two-thirds of the funding for Medicaid goes toward long-term care. That means even though it was a program designed in the early '60s to serve mothers and children, in fact it is not.

I think when you talk welfare reform to a group which is very concerned about Hispanic children, you need to consider doing something about long-term care because the bulk of the dollars that you're talking about in welfare reform are connected to programs that have to do with the elderly. As a nation we don't have a policy towards the elderly, and the monies that keep going to their programs are monies that should be going to children.

I think by not having a long-term care policy we are forcing an issue between young people and older people which is very unfair to do.

So first I want to know what you think about long-term care--how it fits into your welfare reform.

My second question is, how does your proposed demonstration program differ from the old OEO/CSA program besides adding the state level as a new layer?

DR. HUNTER: This has been a point of confusion. We are not interested in, and would resist, recreating the old Community Action approach, which was premised upon circumventing governments, going directly to non-governmental groups.

The notion that the President has is to work through government, work through state governments. If you will recall, I said the idea is community-based projects run under the auspices of, and with the support and assistance of, state governments. The idea is to bring welfare as close to the individual as possible.

That can only be done when it's done at the community level, but there is absolutely no intention of trying to circumvent state and local governments. Any welfare reform that takes place has to take place through the state and local governments.

We're encouraging states to do their reform on a community basis and to learn from the community-based self-help groups. We're not talking about privatizing the welfare system by turning to the self-help groups, themselves, which have perceived the failures of the current system and worked around it. We want governmental bodies to work with these groups to see what successes and failures they have had. But the idea is not to circumvent state and local governments.

MR. GREENSTEIN: I think that it's very useful in thinking about welfare reform to distinguish between the part of low income assistance that provides people with the basic benefits they need to buy food, pay the rent, get medical care, and the services needed to help them climb out of poverty that Dr. Hunter just referred to as self-help services.

I don't think the case can be made that the federal government has found such great ways to provide these self-help services that it can dictate how they should be implemented in every part of the country. These programs need to be experimented with and learned from at community and local and state levels.

The problem, I think, is carrying the idea of regional and community diversity over into the basic benefit programs themselves. This is where a number of us have extreme problems with the White House proposal because it would cover things like food stamps, Medicaid, AFDC. These programs are now run as entitlements from the federal government through states to individuals.

What that means is that if people are poor enough in a state to meet the eligibility criteria for a program, then they qualify for the benefits. If, for example, a recession comes, and there are more people in need in a given state (let's say the economy goes down in south Texas, although I don't know how much further it could go down than it is), more people are eligible, then the money is there. That is entitlement. People are entitled to receive help if they meet the eligibility criteria.

If you look closely at the White House proposal, it doesn't really allow states full flexibility to experiment with whatever they would like to. It says that demonstration proposals will be entertained in programs that are currently federally funded, which programs would then be replaced by a demonstration block grant. In this scenario, federal agencies would estimate the federal cost of those programs at the beginning of the year and that's the amount the state would get.

Entitlement programs don't work that way. They're not block grants. You don't estimate a fixed amount at the beginning of the year. If more people are in need, the funds are there.

The White House provision allows for funds to be supplemented in the event of additional need, but there's no requirement. It would be up to the discretion of the White House, and presumably they would have to get a supplemental appropriation passed through Congress, which takes a long time. This is why the principle behind basic health and income assistance, i.e., federal entitlement, is critical.

Many demonstration projects have been done in the last decade in food stamps, AFDC, and Medicaid, all of which retain the entitlement structure. I cannot understand, if the White House is really interested in flexibility, why it doesn't at least say to the states, "You choose. You want to come in with a demonstration that's an entitlement. Fine. If you want to come in with one that's a block grant, fine, as long as it doesn't cost more than we estimate the current system would serve."

It's their failure to do that that leads many people to think that the real agenda in the White House plan is the same new federalism agenda that was in their 1982 proposal, which is to begin to dismantle the federal role in basic income assistance for poor people and take us back to where we were several decades ago.